

MEMOIRS

OF THE

DUKE OF SULLY.

M E I R S



OF THE

D U K E O F S U L L Y

MEMOIRS

OF

MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE,

DUKE OF SULLY,

PRIME MINISTER TO

HENRY THE GREAT.

CONTAINING

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND REIGN
OF THAT MONARCH, AND HIS OWN
ADMINISTRATION UNDER HIM.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

THE TRIAL OF RAVAILLAC, FOR THE
MURDER OF HENRY THE GREAT.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

THE FIFTH EDITION.

V O L. IV.

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WILLIAM LANE

SUMMARY

OF THE

Books contained in the FOURTH VOLUME.

SUMMARY of the SEVENTEENTH BOOK.

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MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

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SULLY.

BOOK XVII.

I BEGAN this year*, as I had done all the preceding ones, by the performance of a ceremony annexed to my employment, which was to present their majesties with two purses of silver medals. When I went to pay them the accustomed compliments on the first day of the new year, I came into their chamber so early in the morning, that I found them still in bed. Besides the purse of silver, I had caused two purses of gold medals to be struck, which they received with great pleasure. Roquelaure, Frontenac, and La-Varenne, coming that moment into the room, the conversation turned entirely upon these medals, of which the emblem was an open granado, and the device alluded to an anecdote in ancient history concerning Darius† and Zopirus. The king was the more pleased with the design, because he found it affect the malecontents of France in such a manner, as he had a few days before directed me to make it affect them. His majesty the next day

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* 1694.

† As an explanation of these medals would be of little consequence, I forbear to give any; nor do I take any notice of them in the beginning of any other years. Those who interest themselves in subjects of this nature, may see the series of these medals, vol. II. p. 6. of the Old Memoirs, where they are collected by the author.

made me a present of his picture, in a box ornamented with diamonds; and the queen sent my wife a diamond chain and bracelet of great value.

THE death of the dutchess of Bar, his majesty's only * sister, was the first interesting event to the court

• The suspicion some conceived of this princess having been poisoned, was entirely groundless; her death was attributed by others to the potions she took to make her pregnant: it rather seems to have been occasioned from her physicians having treated her as being with child, though she was not. Andrew Du-Laurens, whom the king sent to her, was not mistaken in this respect, as the rest were; but the princess herself was so firmly persuaded of her being with child, by the extreme desire she had to find it so, that she refused to take any of the medicines prescribed by that physician; imagining he wanted to save her life, at the expence of the child's she believed herself to have conceived; whereas she was not at all solicitous about the preservation of her own life, provided that of the supposed infant could be saved. She persisted in this notion and these sentiments till the last moment of her life, always crying out, "Save my child." Her body having been opened, it clearly appeared Du-Laurens had been extremely right in his judgment; that instead of a real pregnancy, her illness was occasioned by an inward tumour or swelling, which for want of an application of the proper remedies to disperse it, had brought on an inflammation.

This princess was a rare example of conjugal affection; whenever she saw or heard any new-married women spoken of, she used to make it her wish, that they might love their husbands as affectionately as she loved hers. She often repeated this verse of Propertius, changing the word *Venus* into *Deus*:

Omnis amor magnus, sed aperto in conjugem major:

Hanc Venus, ut vivat, ventilat ipsa facem.

Her corpse was carried to Vendôme, and deposited by her mother's, queen Jane of Albret. The pope had at length granted this dispensation, which had been so long solicited, but the dutchess died before it arrived in Lorrain.

Henry IV. took it much amiss, that the pope's nuncio, instead of the compliments of condolence, which he received from all the princes in Europe on his sister's death, only spoke to him of his holiness's fears for the salvation of that princess, who died out of the bosom of the church; and answered him with some warmth and indignation, but very judiciously, that it was a notion inconsistent with the goodness of God, to suppose, that the moment when a person breathes his last was not sufficient for his mercy to open the gates of heaven to any sinner whatever; "I have not," added he, "the least doubt of my sister's being saved." De Thou, and Chronol. Septen. anno 1604.

What Amelot de la Houffay advances in his notes on cardinal d'Offat's letters, that this princess had no more affection for her husband than he had for her, is contrary to the opinion of all other historians: there is more foundation for his notion, that the design of the journey

court this year: Henry appeared greatly afflicted at it; he wore deep mourning, and not only ordered the whole court to do so likewise, but also the first gentlemen, and officers of his bed-chamber, the grand master, and officers of his wardrobe, the pages, and, in a word, all his household; the same regulation was observed in the queen's family.

THE dutchess of Bar, before she left France, had contracted some debts in Paris, which were not yet paid. Without doubt, this princess had been prevented only by death from discharging them, since she had sent jewels from Lorraine to be pawned to her creditors, who had made a seizure of her houses, furniture, and other effects. Her houses were, a palace at Paris, a house at Fontainebleau, and another at Saint-Germain, which the king her brother had given her; and, among other furniture, there were pictures in her gallery, chamber, and closets, which were well worth keeping in the royal palaces, and which the king wished to have for that purpose; but they had made the dutchess's debts so considerable, that he did not think it fit to desire them, till they were all cleared. These debts amounted to twenty thousand livres.

I WAS afterwards commissioned by his majesty to take an inventory of the furniture and jewels belonging to this princess: that which rendered this employment very difficult to execute, besides the different kinds of debts and effects, was the specifying of those that the king of France and the duke of Bar

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had

journey the duke of Bar took to Rome, was less to solicit the dispensation for his marriage, than to oppose it; but that the pope did not suffer himself to be so imposed on. The palace here spoken of is the palace of Soissons, formerly called, The queen's palace, because it had belonged to queen Catherine of Medicis, who left it by her will to her grand-daughter, Christina of Lorraine; but by reason of queen Catherine's debts, it was sold in 1601, and bought by the dutchess of Bar. It was sold again in 1604, for one hundred thousand livres, or thereabouts, to the count of Soissons, whose daughter, Mary of Bourbon, transferred it, as part of her portion, to prince Thomas Francis of Savoy-Carignan, grandfather of prince Eugene.

had a right to, and the claims they both made to the rings the princess had pawned in Paris. Madame de Pangeas gave us a very exact account of what rings and other jewels the princess was possessed of, either before or after her arrival in Lorraine, and of what her moveables in France consisted; and the inventory was regulated by this writing. The whole was registered with great exactness, in the presence of two or three members of the council, named by his majesty, and the duke of Lorraine's commissioners; and this done, each of the two princes took possession of those effects that either belonged, or were to be returned to them. The dutchess's palace at Paris was, by the king, destined to be sold, because part of the money for which it was first purchased was not yet paid; and the sum produced by this sale was sufficient to satisfy the first owner of it, and all the other creditors. The king gave the house of Fontainebleau to the queen, and that at Saint-Germain to the marchioness of Verneuil. But as this sale could not be made immediately, and the creditors demanding sureties, it was by their consent, agreed between the two princes, that the jewels should be deposited in my hands, without any other security than my word: they remained there till the following year, when the queen having taken them, I was discharged by a writing, dated 28 June, 1605, and signed by Des-Marquets and Bontemps. I shall now proceed to the re-establishment of the jesuits, which I have promised to give some account of.

NOTWITHSTANDING the arret that seemed to deprive them of all hopes of ever settling again in France, yet they had found means to engage the court in their interests, and to make, even in his majesty's council, such a great number of protectors, whose voices, joined to the earnest and almost continual solicitations of the pope, the house of Lorraine, and many other persons both within and without the kingdom,

kingdom, so greatly strengthened their party, that it was not possible for Henry to resist any longer; and indeed it must be confessed, that he yielded without much reluctance. Some jesuits who had gained access to his person on account of what had passed the preceding year during his journey to Metz, behaved with so much address, and made such advantage of that permission, that Henry began to see them with pleasure*, and even to admit them familiarly to his presence. Those who were thus sent to try their fortune, and who we may be assured had been chosen with all the discernment of a society that understood mankind perfectly well, were the fathers Ignatius, Mayus, Cotton, Armand, and Alexander; for father Gonthier did not yet shew himself; his turn of mind, which was rather ardent than complying, was not yet wanted.

WHEN the jesuits were thus secure of great part of the court, and flattered themselves that their enemies in the council would be either the weakest party, or such as would not contradict a proposal they knew to be agreeable to the king, they presented a petition in form to his majesty; who having in effect taken a resolution very favourable for them, ordered the constable one day to assemble a council at his house, composed of the chancellor, messieurs de Chateau-neuf, Pontcarré, Villeroi, Maisses, the president De Thou, Calignon, Jeannin, Sillery, De-Vic,

* The favourable reception the jesuits met with at court and in Paris, was principally owing to their qualifications as preachers; those who are named here were excellent in that respect. We shall soon have occasion to speak of father Cotton. Father Laurent Mayus, or Mayo, was born in Provence; he was a man of great wit and conduct, and one of those who the most effectually assisted the pope's nuncio in procuring the re-establishment of the jesuits. This jesuit putting Henry IV. in mind of his promise to recall that order at a proper time, said to him, "Sire, your time is now come, it is nine months since you made this promise, and women are delivered at the end of nine months." "True, father Mayo," answered that prince, "but don't you know kings go longer than women do." Chronol. Septennaire, anno 1603.

Vic, and Caumartin; there to hear from La-Varenne, the most zealous solicitor the jesuits had, the society's proposals, and what arguments they could offer to support them; to deliberate upon them; and to bring him an exact account of what passed*.

His majesty would have been very well satisfied to have had me of this council; and his reason for not naming me to the constable among the others, was (as he told Oserai, the first groom of his bed-chamber, who afterwards repeated it to me) because he believed this commission would not be agreeable to me. But Sillery here exerted all the arts of a courtier; he affected to his majesty so much surprise that this council should be held without me, accompanied with all those treacherous praises which envy and malice make use of on certain occasions, that

* The parliament of Paris having been informed of the king's resolution touching the recal of the jesuits, sent the first president de Harlay as their deputy to his majesty, to present their remonstrance against it. The president spoke to the king with great vehemence; the substance of his speech may be seen in De Thou, who, after having related, as an eye-witness, what passed on this occasion between the king and his parliament, complains of a writing which came abroad at that time, under the title of, The king's answer to the remonstrance of the parliament; and which is a continued series of reproaches from that prince to the first president, and of praises of the jesuits: whereas the only answer the king made to the deputies of the parliament was, that he thanked them for the solicitude they discovered for the preservation of his life, and that he would take all necessary measures not to run himself into any dangers. The length and spirit of this writing testify in favour of M. De Thou; but on the other side, this answer of Henry IV. whether true or fictitious, is set forth in the 4th volume of Villeroi's State Memoirs, p. 400, and confirmed by Matthieu, that prince's historiographer, whom Henry IV. himself furnished with memoirs of his history, vol. II. book iii. On this authority, which is of great weight, father Daniel has cited it in his History of France, in folio, vol. III. p. 1939. These things would induce one to believe this was the real answer of Henry IV. at least in substance; and M. De Thou agrees, that after the king's answer, which contained an order to register his edict, the parliament having made a farther attempt to avoid registering it, his majesty sent for them a second time, and declared his will to them with authority, and even with anger; and afterwards sent Andrew Hurault de Maiffes, one of his secretaries of state to the parliament, to cause his edict to be registered without any modification.

that he laid the prince under a necessity of telling him I should be there likewise. The views of this artful courtier were, to make me only answerable for all the inconveniencies which they foresaw might equally attend a denial, or grant of the jesuits request, for every one knew it was a nice affair. I guessed Sillery's motive for acting in this manner, and it was not long before my suspicions were fully confirmed.

THE council being assembled, and myself present, as one of the members, the question was put to the vote; when Bellievre, Villeroi, and Sillery, directing their eyes to me, Sillery spoke for the others, and said, that these gentlemen, as well as himself, yielded to me the honour of deciding upon this question, as to one who was better acquainted with the affairs of state and the king's inclinations than any that were present. I was already not too well disposed towards Sillery, and this stroke put me quite out of humour with him: instead of a compliment, with which any other courtier would have paid his flattery, I answered to his meaning, and that without any disguise. I told him, that I saw no reason for altering a custom so generally received as that of voting according to rank, especially on a subject that my sentiments, whatever they were, would, on account of my religion, be suspected of partiality; unless it was with a design to give the world a disadvantageous interpretation of my words, as I knew many that were present expected to have an opportunity of doing; and had even done it beforehand, by groundless charges upon a point on which I had not yet declared my thoughts; and added, in plainer terms, that although I should vote first, yet I would not give the person that spoke to me so great an advantage as he seemed to hope for; but that I would do nothing till I had first consulted my oracle. And in reality I was resolved to have a conference with his majesty, before any resolution was taken in the matter in debate. "I find then,"
said

said Sillery, smiling maliciously, and affecting ignorance of the meaning of my last words, “ that we must wait
“ for your opinion till you have taken a journey to
“ the banks of the Seine, four leagues from hence.” Ablon it was that he meant, the place where the protestants had their assemblies. “ Monsieur, replied I,
“ your enigma is not very obscure ; however, I assure you, that as in religious matters, not men, but
“ the words of God, are my oracles, so in affairs of
“ state I am guided only by the voice and the will of
“ the king ; which I intend to be particularly informed
“ of, before any thing be determined upon a business
“ of this importance.” Then addressing myself to the whole company, I told them, in a tone of voice somewhat raised, that great inconveniencies must infallibly be the consequences of a precipitate resolution in this case.

AFTER this discourse, which might be taken for that act of deliberation I had just before declined, the constable taking advantage of the hint I had furnished him with, and pleased likewise with having an opportunity to do me some service ; for, ever since that he had received from me in the affair of marechal Biron, his former prejudice against me was changed into a sincere affection, said, that he was entirely of my opinion, as to the necessity there was of knowing the particular inclinations of his majesty, before any thing was resolved on ; and added, that it would not even be improper to desire him to be present at their debates, if it was only to put a stop to those little heats and animosities, that had already begun to appear in our first sitting. Villeroi, shewing an impatience to proceed, which surprised every one that knew his disposition, said, that since this affair could no otherwise be terminated than by the re-establishment of the jesuits, it was needless to protract it any longer ; and, after giving all the weight he could to his holiness’s interposition, and answering

answering for the faithful performance of the promises made by the society, he explained the motives of the king's conduct in this affair, who had not, he said, referred it to a council, the members of which were all appointed by himself, to be contradicted, but to avoid taking upon himself the annulling, by his authority, so solemn an arret of parliament as that against the jesuits; and concluded, by complaisantly saying, that it was fit his majesty should be spared the disagreeable necessity of deciding solely this question. Villeroi certainly highly honoured us all by this speech; and the council, no doubt, owed him great acknowledgments. De Thou ridiculed this opinion, as Villeroi had done ours; he shook his head, and said, that, if his majesty's design had been such as Villeroi had represented it to be, not to meddle in this affair, he would have referred it to the decision of the parliament, as likewise the examination of the jesuits proposals; and hence taking occasion to give his own sentiments of the matter, he added, that if the king would avoid the blame he would incur by acting otherwise, and the danger that would result from it both to the state and his own person, this was the only part he could take, namely, to refer it to the parliament. Certainly this was not speaking like a courtier: but neither his advice nor that of Villeroi was followed. The rest of the counsellors declared, by a single word, that they thought it necessary his majesty should be applied to, before they proceeded any farther; and this was the end of our first sitting.

THE next day I had a private conference with his majesty; and the first thing I brought upon the carpet being the debates on the preceding evening, I perceived the king expected I should tell him my sentiments of them. I did not hesitate a moment as to the part I should take; and truth obliges me to confess, it was not very favourable for the

jesuits*. I told his majesty, that I could not possibly comprehend how, after an arret of parliament published by his order, and for a cause as necessary as just, he should suffer himself to be still prejudiced in favour of an order, from which both himself and the state had nothing but mischief to expect. Here I could not help bringing the king of England to his remembrance; and, having no intention to protract my discourse to any length, I contented myself with barely entreating him to dispense with my assisting at such hateful deliberations: or if not, to let me know his will precisely, and command me so absolutely to regulate my vote according to it, that I might find my excuse in the necessity of obeying him. "Well, said Henry, since we
 "are alone, and you have leisure to discourse on this
 "matter, tell me freely what it is you fear from the
 "re-establishment of this society, and afterwards I
 "will tell you what I hope from it, to the end that
 "we may judge whose arguments have the most
 "weight." I would still have excused myself from this task, saying, that it was absolutely needless, since his majesty had already taken his resolution. But he replied, that that should not hinder him from paying some regard to my reasons; and commanded me so positively to enter into this discussion, that I could no longer refuse to satisfy him.

THE public has no advantage to hope from the restoration of the jesuits in France†, which it may not

* It is said in the manuscript of the king's library, which we have quoted before, that messieurs de Sully, de Bouillon, de Maupeou, &c. did all they were able to divert the king from this resolution.

† The following discourse does not contain any thing more, nor is even so strong as the president de Harlay's, which we see in De Thon, nor than what all the writings at that time or since are filled with against the jesuits: I feel no less repugnance in transcribing it, than I have owned myself to be sensible of in the preface to this work. But the reader will easily observe here, that it has been endeavoured to impose mere conjectures on him as certain facts, and bare possibilities as avowed designs. Ten pages of vain declamation never will counterbalance the least real fact ascertained in four words; and, to speak justly,

not promise itself from any other religious order; and for the exclusion of the jesuits there are particular reasons, arising from the inconveniencies which follow from their establishment in this kingdom. These reasons and inconveniencies are reducible to four heads, which are immediately seen to be of the last importance; religion, the conduct of government with respect to foreign nations, the interior government of the kingdom; and lastly, the person of the king. Let us now speak of the first: the only sure foundation upon which the system of government, which the council will henceforth follow, can be supported, is union and peace between the two religions prevailing in France: the jesuits must be supposed, by those who favour them, to promote this peace and union; but in truth, this can be less expected from them than from any other men. Their first statute places them in such blind subjection to their general, or rather to the Pope*, that, tho'

as

justly, M. de Sully does not prove any thing here, but his passion and animosity against the jesuits. It gives one horror to repeat, or even to think, of what he says of stabbing and poisoning, which could only come from the mouth of a calvinist, and an inveterate enemy; but it ought to surprise us the less in coming from M. de Rosny, who was under solemn engagements to the king of England to act and speak in that manner, whenever the recalling of the jesuits should come in question, for the interest of heresy, their common cause, of which he was as zealous an espouser, as the king of Great Britain a declared enemy of the church.

* It may be observed, in relation to the article in the institution of the jesuits, which enjoins a blind submission to their general, that by this submission or blind obedience is meant, first, the vow they enter into after a noviciate of nine years: now this vow is exactly in this, as in all other religious orders; its nature is perfectly the same, and nothing is required of the jesuits, but that submission and obedience which the holy fathers of the church enjoined to the faithful, who particularly consecrated themselves to the service of God: besides, this obedience ought never to be blind, but in points of perfection and religious observance; it can never derogate from the laws of nature, nor those of divine, ecclesiastical, or civil institution, for the preservation of order in the government of nations.

By this submission or obedience is also meant, secondly, the fourth vow which the professed of that company make, and which is super-added by them to the three ordinary vows of the religious orders.

Now

as particular men they might have the most pure and pacific intention, they can move only by the will of these two superiors, of whom the pope has a great deal of mischief in his power; and their general is always either a Spaniard born, or a dependent upon Spain. Now it cannot be imagined, that the pope, and the general of the jesuits, will ever contentedly see the protestant religion forming a distinct interest in France; it must therefore be, that the jesuits, filled with the notions of Rome, men likewise of dexterity and intelligence, and to complete their character, jealous of the honour of their own party, will, by their confessions, their sermons, their books, and their conversation, keep up a perpetual schism among the people; whence will ensue discord and contention between the different members of the body politic, which will soon or late produce such another civil war, as that from which we are got free.

NOR

Now this fourth vow imposes no other obligation on them, in regard to the sovereign Pontiff, but merely to obey him, when he shall command them to go on missions for the salvation of souls. This is the whole substance of it, notwithstanding what multitudes say of it, who continually represent this vow in the most odious light, and who from thence incessantly take occasion to inveigh against the society: *Insuper promitto specialem obedientiam summo pontifici, circa missiones*: "Moreover, I promise a special obedience to the sovereign Pontiff, in relation to missions;" these are the express terms in which this vow is made. It contains four circumstances which comprehend the whole extent of it; which may be seen in the book of the institution of the Jesuits, or in the abridgment of it printed at Brussels, in 1690, part 3. chap. 3. sect. 3. These circumstances are, first, the jesuits are forbid to solicit the Pope, either themselves or by other persons, to be sent to one country rather than another; secondly, they must obey, whether they are sent amongst the Turks, or other infidels, or even to the Indies, whether they are appointed to labour in the conversion of heretics and schismatics, or in the perfection of the faithful; thirdly, they must set out immediately for the places of their destination, without any wilful excuse or delay; fourthly, they are not to demand any necessaries or expences for the journey, but must be ready to go on foot or horseback, with money or without, as his holiness shall think proper, having regard only to God's service. Can a vow of this nature afford any manner of foundation for the injurious reflections that have for two centuries past, both in writing and by word of mouth, been cast on the society on this account?

NOR are they less capable of disturbing our concord with foreign nations, which is the second reason for which good policy would oppose their revocation; the pope either favouring Spain by inclination, or depending against his will upon that crown, particularly since the Spaniards last invading Italy; and the great view of Spain being the destruction of the French monarchy; when we consider that the jesuits are connected with both the pope and the Spaniards, by principles, custom, and religion, what can be concluded, but that France will have in her bosom a body of men always ready to take part with her enemies? Here religion comes again into the question: the scheme formed by Henry, for the glory and tranquillity of Europe in general, requires, that at some time he should send an army into Italy, capable of setting the pope free, even without his own consent, from the shackles in which he is kept by the power of Spain; in this design the help of the protestants will be necessary, without which nothing can be done against the Spaniards: but the jesuits will never like a scheme of general policy, which will make the protestants important, and establish them in Europe.

RATHER than see the execution of such a design, and become enemies to Spain, as they must then do, they will endeavour to waste the forces of the king upon his subjects, which is the third reason against recalling them: and, what will produce almost as much disorder in the government of the kingdom, their access to the prince, and the influence which they will have over the exercise of his power, will enable them to commence another kind of war against the ministers, and men in office, under the suspicion that they have not the same designs with themselves. I reckon myself among those who will be the first sacrificed to these new favourites. And to conclude, has not the king himself had a dreadful instance of their hatred, without giving them
new

new opportunities of daggers and poisons? and does he not know the reasons for which the jesuits would have put another prince upon the throne of France in his place? such a one as they hoped to make more easily concur in their schemes, both general and particular. If he had any doubt of it, I offered to prove it evidently to him, by a paper sent me from Rome against the cardinal D'Ossat, of which I shall speak presently; and I then added a few reflections, with which that paper had supplied me.

THE king answered me, that he should like to see that paper, and ordered me to shew it him; but he remained invincible in his purpose, notwithstanding all the reasons that I could offer him. He told me, he had only two things to oppose to my discourse, which he found I had performed by long premeditation; the first was, that it was natural for the jesuits to be devoted to Spain, the only power which had courted and caressed them, when they were scorned or hated almost every where: that if they had found the same reception in France, or should now begin to find it, they would soon forget Spain †. For the truth

† Without any design of speaking in favour of the French jesuits of that time, I would only observe, that Henry IV. formed a true judgment of the dispositions they have since manifested. The services France has received from them have dissipated the reproach so often found in the mouths of all who then were enemies, that they endeavoured to exalt Spain on the ruins of the French monarchy: besides, the jesuits did not become engaged in the league from their connexions with foreign nations, but from the present situation of affairs of religion. If, from an error in judgment, in which they were authorised by the opinion of the Sorbonne, and most good Frenchmen, they conceived it expedient to strengthen themselves by a foreign support, it was not because they were enemies to the nation, their country, or the government, but because they apprehended such connexion necessary to promote the interests of religion; and because they, like many other catholics, blinded by an excess of zeal, erroneously imagined, that whatever was done in defence of the faith was justifiable: they however observed more decorum than many others; for none of them appeared in Paris at the time of the barricade; nor were any of them seen to join in the odd and ridiculous procession of 1590. Vide father Daniel's history of France, vol. III. It may be further observed, that the jesuits were persecuted in Spain, for being too zealous in the

truth of this, he quoted father Mayus, who had declared to him, as he told me, in the name of the whole society, their sincere attachment, and confirmed it with the strongest oaths, submitting that he and his associates should be considered as the most flagrant traitors, if his promises were not fulfilled.

THE king added, that these oaths and promises perhaps would not so fully put me to silence, but that I might have something to reply; but that a sense of his own interest, and care for the preservation of his person †, determined him, he said, not only to receive the jesuits to mercy, but to treat them well; for if he once reduced them to despair, and deprived them of all hopes of returning to France, there was nothing which they would not attempt against him. His majesty then dilated at large upon the credit, the artifices, and the expedients of that society; by which he endeavoured to persuade me, as he appeared himself persuaded, that this society, to whatever distance it might be driven by banishment, would have a thousand means of practising on his life, and that he was desirous to set himself free from perpetual disquiets. He concluded with this expression of Cæsar ‡, That it was better to put one's self at once into the power of those that one suspects,

the interest of France; at the same time, they were charged in France with being too closely engaged to Spain. No one, in fact, laboured so effectually to obtain the absolution of Henry IV. and his reconciliation with the pope, as cardinal Tolet, a Spanish jesuit. This appears from the letters of cardinal D'Ossat, between the years 1595 and 1603. Hence arose the pique Spain, and Philip the second, had against the jesuits, and father Aquaviva their general, whom, for that reason, they were continually involving in troubles.

† “*Ventre-saint-gris!*” said Henry IV, to those who endeavoured to dissuade him from recalling the jesuits, “will you be answerable, for “my person?” which words stopped every one's mouth. See the king's MSS. vol. 9033.

‡ *Insidios undique imminentes subito semel confestim satius esse, quam cavere semper*, says Suetonius; which does not absolutely signify, that the most unexpected death is the best, as the text in the old memoirs expresses it, and which is more consistent with the context,

suspects, than to be continually using precautions against them.

By these words, and the tone with which they were pronounced, I easily comprehended that his majesty had already resolved upon the re-establishment of the jesuits, and that nothing could dissuade him from it. Therefore, instead of opposing this resolution by new objections, many of which, and those very solid, I had still to offer; I told him, that since he seemed to make the safety of his person, and the happiness of his life, to depend upon the recalling this society, that was sufficient to make me labour for the success of the affair as zealously as La-Varenne himself could do; and that, when the council again assembled, he should have proofs of it. I saw joy sparkle in the eyes of this prince at my words; and that the sacrifice I made him might not go unrewarded, and that I might have no cause to apprehend the blame of what might happen should fall upon me, he promised me two things that instant, and gave me his royal word for the faithful performance of them. One was, that neither the jesuits, nor any other person in the world, should prevail upon him to declare war against the protestants, unless I myself should advise him to it: the other, that nothing should be capable of making him remove from his person, a minister with whom, be his religion what it would, he was well satisfied; "and especially," added he, with a most obliging familiarity, "a man of whom I can say, with the utmost sincerity, what you the other day told me Darius said of his Zopirus†." He likewise assured me, that he would endeavour to make the jesuits entertain the same sentiments of me that he did; and that I should know before much time was past, in what

† Zopirus, a Persian satrape, having cut off his nose, ears, and lips, in order to execute a stratagem which put Darius in possession of the city of Babylon, that prince used to say, He would have given twenty Babylons for one Zopirus. Herodotus, b. v.

what manner he expected they should behave towards me.

I AM not sure whether he did not exert himself on this occasion that very day; for I had a visit from La-Varenne the next morning, who desired as a favour, that a jesuit, who, he assured me, was still more a Frenchman by inclination, than birth, might be allowed to pay his respects to me. I answered La-Varenne, that he well knew every one was sure of a polite reception at my house, and ecclesiastics especially, who never perceived any more of my religion, than the obligation I thought it laid upon me to treat them with a distinguished respect; and that, if this were not the case, the character he gave me of this jesuit was sufficient to insure his welcome. This French jesuit was father Cotton †, whom

† Peter Cotton, born 1564 at Neronde, of one of the most distinguished families of Forez. Great changes ought to be made in the idea the author here and elsewhere endeavours to give us of him: he was a man endowed with great sense, an extraordinary eloquence, and all the necessary qualifications to make himself universally agreeable. "The king," says the *Chronologie Septenaire*, "conceived so great an affection for him from the first moment he saw him, that ever after he acquainted him with whatever he was going to undertake. He first preached at Fontainebleau, afterwards at Paris, where every better kind of parish was desirous of hearing him; and it is no wonder they should, for he has so engaging a manner, that one can never be weary of giving the utmost attention to him."

He narrowly escaped, about this time, being assassinated by the king's pages, who wounded him in several places with a sword, as he was coming in a coach to the Louvre; because some of the lords of the court having complained to the king, that the pages seeing him pass by, had cried, *Old Wool, Old Cotton*, (one of the cries of Paris) his majesty had ordered some of them to be whipped for it: he would even have punished this attempt on his life with great severity, if father Cotton had not earnestly besought him to pardon them; they were therefore only drove from court. "The king," says the same writer, on this account, increased the favours he conferred on the jesuits: he even wanted to bestow a bishopric on father Cotton, who by politically refusing to accept of this offer, did a signal service to the order of which he was a member."

The author of *Chronologie Septenaire*, had spoke more correctly, if he had said, father Cotton was strictly obliged to refuse the bishopric offered him by the king, and that he did, in reality, refuse it in consequence of this obligation; for the jesuits make an express vow
not

whom he brought with him the next day as I went into the hall to give audiences as usual after dinner. The jesuit approached me with all imaginable demonstration of veneration and respect, and was lavish in his praises of my great capacity, my services, and likewise upon the protection which he said he had been assured I was disposed to grant his society, intermingled with the most profound bows, and repeated assurances of gratitude, devotion, and obedience. I was not deficient in a return of compliments and ceremony, being solicitous to omit nothing the person and present occasion required.

THE next day the council, still composed of the same members as before, assembled for the second time; and no affair was ever more quickly dispatched, without entering into any discussion, or making a needless display of arguments in favour of a question already decided. I said in brief, that the present conjuncture of the times required, that the jesuits should have a settlement in France. It was resolved, that they should take an oath to hold all the principles of true Frenchmen, and elect no one for a provincial*, who was not French by birth: this they

not to accept any ecclesiastical dignities; and they can have no dispensation from this vow, but from the pope himself. Father Cotton, if we form our judgment of him from his life as wrote by father Orleans, was too religious a man to be influenced in his refusal of this offer, by any other motives than his principles of disinterestedness and modesty. Matthieu also speaks of father Cotton with great eulogiums, vol. II. b. iii. Henry IV. in this year, made him his confessor, on the resignation of René Benoit, parish priest of Saint-Eustache: and he further insisted, that the office of superior of the college of Navarre, which had always, till that time, been joined to that of the king's confessor, should from henceforth be disunited from it.

* I do not find that, in the edict for restoring the jesuits, any mention is made of this election of a French provincial; if there is, it is only by implication. These are the conditions expressed in it: That the jesuits shall not found any college in France, without the king's permission: that all of them shall be Frenchmen born; and that no other shall be suffered in the kingdom; that one of them shall always reside near the king's person, to be answerable to him for the conduct of all the rest; that, on their entering into the society, they shall take certain oaths before the officials, that they shall not make any attempts

they swore to perform, and all the past was buried in oblivion. All I have to add is, that during the whole time, I was extremely reserved, and acted with great circumspection, as well with regard to father Molina's opinion of grace, that was published this year, as upon some propositions of three jesuits, which occasioned high debates between those that favoured, and those that opposed them, especially these two; that the pope's being the successor of Saint Peter was not a point of faith, and that confession might be made by letters. On this occasion, the jesuits were soon sensible how necessary the royal interpo-

attempts on the king's person; that they shall not engage in any affairs to the prejudice of the state, &c. that they shall not do any thing to infringe the laws of the kingdom, the jurisdiction of bishops, or the rights of the clergy, the universities, &c. that they shall not teach or administer the sacraments in any diocese, without the consent of the bishop of such diocese; that whatever had been taken from them shall be restored, but that they shall not be permitted to make any new acquisitions, without the king's express approbation; nor shall they be suffered to claim any share with their relations in the inheritance of the estates or effects of their families. The city of Lyons and La-Flache were the only places where they were allowed new establishments; those of former foundation are enumerated in the edict, amounting in all to eleven, viz. Toulouse, Auch, Agen, Rhodès, Bourdeaux, Perigueux, Limoges, Tournon, Le-Puy-en-Velay, Aubenas, and Beziers. We will suffer M. De Thou to complain, that some of these conditions have since been annulled, but not from thence to claim a right of charging the jesuits with having failed in the observance of them.

As to the general of their order being a foreigner, which gives so great offence to M. de Sully, it could not be required of them, that they should never have any but a native of France; the choice of a general being made by different members of the society, deputed for that purpose, and chosen out of different nations; therefore, to have required this of them, would have been requiring an impossibility. As to the manner of this election, nothing is positively laid down, either by the laws or practice of the society; for every jesuit, who shall be deemed qualified for the office, whether a Frenchman, or of any other nation, is liable to be chosen, as the whole depends on an absolutely free choice. The only reason why father d'Aubenton, a Frenchman, confessor to his catholic majesty, was not appointed the last general but one, was because the French jesuits themselves opposed his being chosen. Father Charles de Noyelle, on whom the office was conferred in 1685, was a gentleman of Artois, and a subject of France.

interposition in their favour was to them. Had they been given over to the parliament, the Sorbonne, the universities, and the most part of the bishops†, and the cities in the kingdom, their doctrine had not taken deep root: but the king did not abandon his new favourites; and even, at the solicitations of La-Varenne, gave them his castle of La-Fleche, where they soon founded a very fine college.

THE restoration of the jesuits afforded matter for a real triumph to Villeroi, Jeannin, Du-Perron, and above all to D'Ossat, who had not neglected their interests at Rome, where he still resided to manage his majesty's affairs at that court. And here it seems proper to introduce that memorial, which was addressed to me from Italy against this ecclesiastic, and which, as has been observed, I had already mentioned to the king.

His majesty was then gone to Chantilly, to spend a few days there in the month of April, on account of the pure air, the agreeableness of the place, the conveniency for hunting, and other country amusements, which his physicians seemed to think necessary for his health. Upon some letters I wrote to him, in which I could not dispense with myself from observing that by his absence a great number of affairs were left undetermined, he returned immediately to Paris, notwithstanding all the entreaties of

† The Septennary, on the contrary, informs us, that immediately after the restoration of the jesuits, they were invited by many cities, bishops, &c. to come to them. Ibid 438. "It was," says Matthieu, p. 606, "the general desire of all the catholics to see them restored from the conviction their absence had given how necessary and advantageous their presence was for the instruction of youth, and the direction of men's consciences. They afforded their enemies no advantage over them, either from their morals or actions, which were so conformable to their doctrines, that not one single discord broke the harmony between them, their hearts and their tongues being in the same tone," &c. This writer had before spoken of them in the most advantageous terms, vol. II. b. ii. p. 270; and his evidence is rendered less liable to suspicion, by his having a personal difference with the society, as appears in the third book, p. 681.

of his physicians to prevent him. The same evening that he arrived, he remembered the memorial in question, and asked me for it, by which he only prevented me, it being my intention to shew it him that day. I had brought it with me, between my coat and waistcoat, and I left it with him, that he might examine it at his leisure. I had made no alterations in it; and added nothing, except perhaps a few reflections, which this paper had no great need of, to draw upon the person against whom it was wrote his majesty's utmost displeasure.

THE author of this memorial, who had his reasons for neither mentioning it in his own name, nor that of the person to whom it was addressed, endeavoured to prove, that D'Ossat had prevaricated in every point of his commission, and had accepted it with no other design, but to bring matters to that pass, that the king should be obliged to enter into the views of the catholic leaguers of his council, and to pursue a political plan very different from that they found he had hitherto conducted himself by. This new plan, which still breathed the spirit of the league that gave it birth, consisted in uniting France in interest and friendship with the pope, Spain, the archdukes, and Savoy, against all the protestant powers of Europe in general, and the protestants of this kingdom in particular; to make Henry concur with the pope in placing a catholic prince on the throne of Great Britain; no longer to protect the United Provinces; to use his authority to procure a general submission to the council of Trent; in a word, to make him adopt all the Austrian schemes, and all the maxims of the other side of the Alps. The jesuits were to undertake the task of cementing this union, which was to be founded upon a marriage between the children of France and Spain, and the first effects of it the dethroning of king James †.

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† I have nothing to add to this article, but what has been said in the foregoing notes.

THE author of this memorial, to prove that he did not bring these heavy accusations against D'Ossat like a mere declaimer, justified the truth of them by that cardinal's own letters, as well those I have formerly mentioned, as others which he had collected, and by his common discourse at Rome, either in public, or to my brother, ambassador to that court, and others in private: he explained the mystery of those almost insurmountable obstacles the holy father made to the king's absolution, and the marriage of the princess his sister: he shewed that they proceeded from D'Ossat himself, who during the whole time that those affairs were depending, abused with impunity the confidence his master reposed in him; and, to prevent the reproaches he had reason to expect from him, gave him to understand, that he was under an absolute necessity of persuading the court of Rome, that his majesty was of the same opinion, and that it was with difficulty he suppressed those reports which from time to time were spread to the contrary.

It is certain, that throughout this whole affair D'Ossat acted with great art, as likewise in the insinuations he secretly gave the king, that Spain, with respect to him, had only the most pacific intentions, for which the pope was ready to be security. All this is so clear, and supported by the author with such incontestable proofs, as forces belief, notwithstanding that spirit of hatred and fury, which it cannot be denied every part of this paper breathes against D'Ossat; he is also reproached in it with assuming the character of a great politician, and a consummate statesman, when he had so much reason to blush for his ignorance and incapacity; and that in this ecclesiastic nothing was to be found but the meanness of his original, having, before his advancement to the purple, been a pedagogue and a footman †, and owed all the several advantageous

† The prejudice, the injustice, and the falshood, so apparent in this last place, totally destroy all the credit that might have been given

tageous changes in his fortune to the fawning arts he practised on Villeroi, and to his slavishly serving the hatred of other catholic leaguers to the protestants. At the conclusion of this memorial, the author earnestly entreats the person into whose hands it should happen to fall, to shew it to his majesty.

SETTING aside all that this paper contains of the extravagant or outrageous, which shew it came from a declared enemy, it must still be confessed that D'Ossat could not escape the reproach of having slandered his sovereign, and being ungrateful to his benefactor; and that he even left to posterity the means

given to this memorial, pretended to have come from Rome against cardinal D'Ossat. His gratitude in many places obliges him to speak of monsieur de Villeroi his protector, and to make an almost open profession of his attachment to him. What can be concluded from hence? certainly nothing in derogation of the qualities of his mind, and every thing in favour of the goodness of his heart. One cannot avoid observing, how palpably the author here abuses the liberty of thinking freely: he endeavours to extend it over matters of religion, almost the only ones which ought to be exempt from it; and seems desirous to exclude it from political affairs, which of all others ought to be most subject to debate; nothing being so uncertain, so much dependant on the caprice of fortune, or so liable to change as they. As to the private history of cardinal D'Ossat, it must be allowed he was of the lowest extraction; some say he was the son of a quack doctor; others, a bastard son of the lord of Cassanabere; whilst others, with more probability, make him the son of a farrier, of the diocese of Auch. He was tutor to the young lord of Castlenau-Marnoac; afterwards he went to Rome, in the quality of secretary to Foix, and was there appointed secretary to cardinal Lewis d'Este, protector of the affairs of France at Rome. He was then sent by his majesty to Florence; and at last went ambassador to Rome, Venice, &c. The bishopric of Rennes was conferred on him in 1596; and in 1600, that of Bayeux: M. de Rosny obtained Henry IV's permission for him to resign the last. He intended to pass the rest of his days at Rome; and actually died there on the 13th of March, 1604, a month after the death of the dutchess of Bar, aged sixty-eight years. The last letter he wrote was to M. Villeroi, six days before his death.

See the other particulars of his life in Amelot de la Houffaye, prefixed to the edition of this cardinal's letters published by him: he has carefully avoided taking the part of the cardinal in the little differences which happened betwixt him and the duke of Sully; and he asserts, I don't know on what grounds, that the reason why that minister would not write to him, was, because he could not prevail on himself to give him the title of Monseigneur. Note on the 329th letter.

means of convicting him of those two crimes, in the letters which through vanity he caused to be printed, wherein he calumniated Henry IV. as a prince who oppressed the clergy, destroyed the nobility, ruined the third estate of the kingdom, and acted like the tyrant of his people.

NOR is truth less violated in those furious exclamations he makes against the protestants. What can one think of the epithets of impious, horrid, detestable, sacrilegious, with which he brands a body that makes profession to agree with him in the belief of all the fundamental articles of the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and have the same veneration for the divine writings in which they are contained, the Apostles Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer †.

As to his political errors, though in D'Ossat they may well be imputed to views too narrow and confined, yet they are not the less palpable. At a time when the ambitious projects of the house of Austria were in a manner posted up throughout all Europe, he exposed France to the danger of being the first victim of them by breaking off for ever with all her allies that were to support her against this proud and insolent monarchy. And what is still more surprising, this destructive policy communicated itself, as if by contagion, to the greatest part of those who were employed in the administration of public affairs: and what is yet more to be lamented, it gained ground upon the wisest as well as the smallest party*.

† This reason of our author's is a very weak one; for every one knows that the professors of the new religion do not acknowledge the authority of the holy fathers, the councils, or any other sources of tradition or faith.

* This system of politics has not been productive of the mischiefs M. de Sully apprehended it would occasion: on the contrary, the event of it has been as favourable as it possibly could have been. It is nevertheless true, and will in some degree be a justification of our author's manner of reasoning on this occasion, that if the execution of these designs, of which the destruction of the protestant religion in France was the principal, had fallen into the hands of any other than
cardinal

IT was this policy that in the month of April this year exposed Villeroi to one of the greatest mortifications that could happen to a man in a public employment. The king, when he set out to Fontainebleau, where it was his custom to keep his Easter, during which there was a cessation of all business in the council, took leave of his counsellors till the Sunday after Easter; but on Good-Friday he recalled me by a letter, in which he informed me, that he had discovered some treasonable practices in his court, and that he wanted to confer with me; for which purpose he would order post-horses to be ready for me at Ablon on Easter-Sunday, that I might set out for Fontainebleau when the communion was over. I did so, and this was the affair in question.

VILLEROI had a clerk in his office named Nicolas L'Hote †, whose family, from father to son, had been attached to that of Villeroi; but the person of whom we are now speaking, before he entered into his service, had been secretary to the count de La-Rochepot, when he was sent ambassador from France to Spain. L'Hote had wit, but of that sort that

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strongly

cardinal de Richelieu, the success of it would not only have been doubtful; but if any attempt of so great consequence as this had by any means miscarried, France would, in all probability, have been replunged into the frightful situation she was in during the reign of the children of Henry II.

Cardinal de Richelieu did not, however, in every respect follow the plan attributed to D'Offat, Villeroi, &c. since during his whole life he was engaged in a war with Spain. The perfect knowledge he had of the particular resources on which France could depend, and which, if we may judge from appearances, he had acquired principally from Sully's Memoirs, made him take in, and in some degree reconcile, both these opposite systems, by entering into the design of weakening the house of Austria, in pursuance of the one; and of destroying Calvinism in France, according to the other of them. I don't know of any one instance that so evidently proves as this does, what a single man is capable of. The protestants of France, who had obtained a toleration of themselves, after having remained undisturbed full thirty years, were, almost at once, brought into an entire subjection: this happened, because on the one side there was a cardinal de Richelieu, and on the other there was no longer a Henry of Navarre.

† Or, as others say, Du-Portail.

strongly inclines the owner to artifice and intrigue. During his stay in Spain he contracted an intimacy with the Spanish secretaries of state, Don Juan Idiaques, Francheses, and Prada, to whom he betrayed the secrets of the ambassador his master. When La-Rochepot returned to France, L'Hote, finding himself without any employment, solicited Villeroi, whose godson he was, for a place in his office, and was by him entrusted to decypher his dispatches; which was very agreeable to L'Hote, as it afforded him an opportunity of carrying on his first trade with security.

BARRAULT*, who succeeded the count de La-Rochepot in Spain, perceived, a short time after, that the secrets of his prince were known to that court; and in vain tortured his imagination to discover from whence this misfortune proceeded. Not being able to fix upon any particular person, he entreated his majesty, in a short letter addressed to himself, to look upon all the clerks in his secretaries offices, especially those belonging to Villeroi, as suspected persons. This treachery extended its influence to all our other ambassadors to the several courts of Europe, who were extremely astonished, and complained to the king, as Barrault had done, that the contents of their dispatches were known at these courts as soon as they received them from France, and very often before.

BUT neither Barrault nor they could penetrate any farther into the affair, till Barrault was one day accosted by a Frenchman of Bourdeaux, a refugee in Spain, whose name was John de Leyré, but better known by that of Rafis, which he had borne when he

* Emeric Gobier de Barrault. It is related of this ambassador, that being one day at a comedy in Spain, in which the battle of Pavia was represented, and seeing a Spanish actor throw him down who performed the character of Francis I. set his foot on his throat, and, in the most outrageous terms, oblige him to ask quarter, he got upon the stage, and in sight of the whole house, ran the actor through the body with his sword. Amelot's notes on D'Offat.

he was in the service of the league, having been one † of the most active of the incendiaries, and on that account not being able to get himself comprehended in the pardon, was obliged to fly into Spain, where his services, which consisted in revealing some advices he still received from his associates in France, were rewarded by a good pension that was allowed him by that court, and which was continued to him, till the council of Spain having procured by other means more certain intelligence than any they could get from Rafis, he soon perceived, by the contempt he was treated with at Madrid, and the discontinuance of his pension, that his credit was sunk all of a sudden; and changing his battery that instant, he applied himself with the utmost diligence to find out who was the traitor in France that had enriched himself with his spoils, not doubting but that if he should succeed, this discovery would purchase his recal to his own country, which he had always in his view, and probably procure him greater advantages than those he lost in Spain.

MEN educated in the arts of faction, and the mystery of intrigue, have talents for these sort of discoveries peculiar to themselves. Rafis got acquainted with another Frenchman, named John Blas, who had settled in Spain, and it was from him that he learned in what manner L'Hote had abused the confidence of his first master. Rafis, struck with this hint, fixed, as by instinct, on this man; and having procured from other persons information that he was actually one of Ville-roi's secretaries, at that distance his sagacity alone discovered to him what so many others upon the very spot were ignorant of.

His suspicions being changed into a certainty, he went to Barrault, and offered to point out the traitor of whom he complained, but that care must be taken to prevent his having any suspicion that he

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was

† L'Etoile says, he had been one of the sixteen.

was discovered, on condition, that if his informations were found to be true, the king would give him a free pardon in form, and a decent pension. Barrault thought the affair of such importance, that he made no scruple to promise both. Rafis likewise exacted a promise from Barrault, and this with a view to his own safety, that he should proceed slowly and cautiously in the affair; and that when he wrote to France upon the proposals that had been made to him, he should address himself to none but the king. But Barrault understood this last request as an excess of unnecessary caution, which did not exclude him from acquainting his majesty's chief ministers with the affair: and it was Villeroi himself that he informed of Rafis's offer and proposals. Villeroi, who did not imagine that the traitor was in his own office, sent the dispatches immediately to the king: but L'Hote being with his master when this packet from Barrault was opened, drove directly at his purpose; and reflecting upon the importance of the advice, acted in the very manner that Rafis had with so much reason been apprehensive he would do; for he wrote instantly to his correspondents in Spain, desiring them to take all the necessary measures, and that without delay, to prevent Rafis from discovering more. This was the best method he could think of to secure himself, and to prevent any bad consequences; and it would probably have succeeded, had the person concerned been any other than Rafis.

THIS man, when he received his pardon, which his majesty sent him, together with his answer to his proposals, observed that it was not signed by Lomenie, to whom the king would naturally have referred it, if it had not been offered him by another train of conveyance; and concluding from thence that it had passed Villeroi's office, he went directly to the ambassador, and complained that he had deceived him; and now thinking it no longer necessary

sary to conceal any thing, he told him his reasons for pressing him to write only to the king, and to Villeroi less than any other person: he gave him, in a few words, all the informations he had promised him concerning L'Hote's intrigues; that done, he told Barrault, that to avoid, if it was still possible, the danger with which he was threatened at Madrid, he had nothing left for it but to endeavour to gain the French territories with the utmost expedition. And accordingly he mounted his horse that moment; and it was happy for him that he did so, for the next morning his house was invested by archers, who were sent after him with orders to make all possible haste, that they might come up with him before he reached the frontier: but Rafis, by good fortune, or rather by his own extreme diligence, escaped with Descartes, Barrault's secretary, whom this ambassador permitted to accompany him to present him in France. They never rested till they found themselves at Bayonne, from whence continuing their route without delay, they came to Paris, and hearing the king was at Fontainebleau, set out directly for that place.

ON the road they met Villeroi, who was going from Fontainebleau to his house at Juvisy; and believing they ought not to conceal any thing from him, intreated him to have his clerk arrested by way of security; and that they might have the sole honour of the affair, offered to return themselves to Paris to arrest him. Villeroi neither approved of their proposal, nor the offer they made him of their persons; which, it must be confessed, was an instance of great imprudence; but he, doubtless, imagined, that it was not possible for L'Hote to escape. He told the two couriers, that his clerk was to come to him the next day, and that it would be then time enough for them to secure him; it being likewise his opinion, that his majesty ought first to be spoke to about it; and that they risked nothing by this delay,

lay, provided they kept a profound silence. Surprised and dissatisfied as they were at this proceeding, it was their business to obey; and they delivered the packets they were charged with, to him, to be given to his majesty, which he did the next day.

THE king had not yet received these packets on Easter-day when I came to Fontainebleau, nor by consequence knew of the two couriers arrival, or the name of him that betrayed him; the only certain intelligence he had was, the warning that had been given him to hold all the clerks of Villeroi suspected. As I did not reach Fontainebleau till it was very late, and was greatly fatigued with my journey, I did not wait on his majesty till the next morning. I found him up and dressed, though it was scarcely sun-rise. Barrault's informations had given him great uneasiness. This prince took my hand, and leading me into the gallery that joined to his apartment, conferred with me there a long time upon the news he had just received from his ambassador. The dispatches from London that had been lost coming into his mind, and all that I had said when I imputed this misfortune to Villeroi's people, which at that time he took for an effect of jealousy and hatred, now appeared to him so well founded, that he acknowledged to me he began to give credit to it, and to conceive very unfavourable thoughts of Villeroi. As he did not expect that Descartes and Rafis would arrive so soon, he ordered me to sift this matter to the bottom, and use my utmost endeavours to find out the truth.

His majesty and I had been three days employed in endeavouring to make discoveries, when Villeroi arrived with the packets beforementioned. I was walking with the king in the long gallery† of the garden of Pines, and preparing to take leave of him for my return to Paris, at the very moment that Villeroi came up to us. His countenance expressed all that grief the consciousness of having such news to inform

† The gallery of Ulysses.

inform his majesty of must necessarily inspire ; and I may venture to say, that for a man who had some cause to wish to humble a rival, or at least to rejoice in his humiliation, I sympathised truly with him in his affliction. While he read the papers, his majesty often looked at me, and pressed my hand several times. He did not give him time to read them out, but interrupting him at the name of L'Hote, " And where is this " L'Hote, your clerk ?" said his majesty, with some emotion, " have you not caused him to be seized ?" " I believe, sire," replied Villeroi, in great consternation, " that he is at my house, but he is not yet " arrested." " How !" returned Henry in a rage, " you believe he is in your house, and yet you have " not ordered him to be seized ! Pardieu ! this is " great negligence indeed ; how could you trifle thus " when you knew his treachery ? this business must " be attended to immediately : go back with all possible haste, and seize him yourself."

VILLEROI departed in the utmost grief and confusion ; and I did not delay a moment my return to Paris ; when the next day I received a letter from his majesty, who charged Descartes to tell me from him all that had passed. Since I find myself engaged to relate this affair, that I may avoid the reproach of having supported such accounts of it as have been given by the enemies of Villeroi, in what remains to be said I shall follow the detail he himself gives of it, in the apology for his conduct, which he thought it necessary to † make public. After having recounted, in a manner advantageous for himself, all that had passed from the moment wherein he spoke to the two couriers,

† See the original of this apology in Villeroi's *Memoirs of state*, pag. 522, it bears date the 3d of May. There can be no doubt of its containing a faithful relation of the sentiments and actions of this minister, it being strictly conformable to the accounts given of it by M. De Thou, the Chronol. Septen. Matthieu, and all other historians of credit of that time.

couriers, to the time that he went to the king at Fontainebleau, he proceeds in the following manner.

THAT at his return to his house, he found the bishop of Chartres and some other persons of distinction, who waited for him, and detained him a long time in his closet, the subject of their conference being the settling some points relating to the approaching ceremony of the order of the Garter. When Descartes came to his apartment, to acquaint him that L'Hote, with Desnots, were just arrived from Paris, his respect for his company hindered him from interrupting them. L'Hote, on his first entering the house, was saluted with the news of the arrival of the two couriers from Spain, yet preserved presence of mind enough to appear but little concerned at it; and pretending that he was hungry, and would go and eat a morsel in the kitchen, only passed through it, telling the maitre d'hotel that he would go to a public house and refresh himself, and get his boots taken off, that he might be in a condition to appear before his master. Villeroi, after his company went away, asked where L'Hote was; and being informed that he was in the offices, as every body believed he was, he thought he could not do better than send a servant to tell the maitre d'hotel, that he should amuse L'Hote with some discourse, and not lose sight of him; he himself, in the mean time, went to Lomenie, to desire that he would lend him Du-Broc, lieutenant du prévôt, who he intended should arrest him. He brought back Lomenie with him, and they placed themselves at a window that looked into the court where the whole transaction was to pass. But these precautions were too late, L'Hote had already escaped.

THOSE who judge favourably enough of Villeroi to take the whole recital upon his word, will at least probably exclaim here against the dilatory manner in which this secretary of state executed those orders
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he had just received from the king's own mouth, and in a tone as absolute as it was pressing: he would be still more culpable, if a thousand circumstances of L'Hote's escape, made public by Descartes and Rafis, which were not mentioned in his apology, were true: however, it would be certainly great injustice to believe every thing that on this occasion was said against Villeroi †; his enemies had too good an opportunity afforded them to rail, not to take advantage of it; the protestants, especially, painted him in the blackest colours, not able to deny themselves the pleasure of being revenged on him, who had contributed more than any other to the king's change of religion. But, on the other side, it is not fit to hold him clear of any blame, as those that are devoted to him do, who insist, that his whole conduct in this affair was justifiable. All my friends did not scruple to say publicly, that, if such an accident had happened in my family, I should have been much more severely reflected upon. The foreign ambassadors residing in France, and even the pope's nuncio, came to my house at Paris, and declared to me, that if, after such a discovery, their dispatches must still pass through Villeroi's hands, their masters would not venture to mention any thing of consequence in them.

As to the traitor, all that could be done was to send some archers after him, who pursued him so closely, that when he came to the side of the river Marne, with a Spaniard who accompanied him, and at a small distance from a ferry-boat, he could not hope to reach it before they came up with him, and saw no other way to avoid their pursuit, than to throw

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† De Thou remarks, that M. de Villeroi did not absolutely escape suspicion; but at the same time he says, that Henry IV. far from suffering himself to be influenced by it, endeavoured to comfort him under his misfortune, book cxxxii. P. Matthieu likewise asserts, that Henry IV. was too well acquainted with the fidelity of this minister to conceive the least suspicion against him, vol. II, b. iii. p. 637.

throw himself into the river, thinking to swim over it ; but he was drowned in the attempt. The Spaniard chose rather to be taken ; and he was brought back to Paris, with the body of L'Hote, which was drawn out of the water. Villeroi seemed truly afflicted that they had not been able to seize his clerk alive : indeed he had reason to regret it ; it was the only means he had left to stop the mouth of slander. He was the first to propose to me, in a letter he wrote to me about this affair, to have the carcase † treated with the utmost ignominy, and to punish the Spaniard in an exemplary manner.

ALL this could not appease the king. He knew not, for a long time after this adventure, in what light to behold Villeroi ; and was three days in doubt whether it was not fit to banish him from his presence. But Villeroi threw himself at his majesty's feet, with so many marks of a profound sorrow, shed tears in such abundance, and made such deep protestations of his innocence, that Henry could not help believing him (though the world would never be persuaded, but that he only feigned to believe him) and with that goodness, so natural to him, granted the pardon he so vehemently implored.

MATTERS

† The surgeons who examined his corps were unanimously of opinion, if we may give credit to L'Etoile, that he had not been drowned : and, as there was no more appearance of his having been stabbed or strangled, they concluded he had been smothered, and afterwards thrown into the river. The Septennaire takes no notice of this examination by the surgeons, but gives an ample detail of the particulars of L'Hote's flight, and the manner in which he was found, which totally destroys the validity of the account given by L'Etoile, who upon other occasions, has given sufficient proofs of his dislike to M. de Villeroi, and yet could not avoid acknowledging, that Henry IV. did not treat M. de Villeroi with the more coldness on this account. " Taking the trouble, says he, of going even to his house, to comfort him in his sorrow, not discovering the least signs of diffidence of him by reason of what had past, but seeming rather to put more trust in him than before. It was therefore said at court, that it was happy for him he had so good a master, since, in affairs of state of so much consequence, kings and princes usually expect masters should be answerable for the acts of their servants." Anno 1604, p. 24.

MATTERS were in this state, when I returned to Fontainebleau, to inform his majesty what I was indispensably obliged to do, of the representations made me by the foreign ambassadors. It was resolved, that the cypher made use of by our ambassadors should be changed; and the king now thought only of taking advantage of this incident, to make Villeroi more exact, (I repeat the king's own words) more cautious in the choice of his clerks, and less haughty than he had formerly been. His majesty concerted with me in a letter, which he thought likely to produce this effect, because I was to make it public: this letter was brought to me at Paris by Perroton from the king, as if to acquaint me with the indulgences he had thought fit to shew Villeroi. The contents were, that his majesty could not refuse a pardon to the tears and entreaties of this secretary; that I ought no longer to distrust him, since he did not; and that, in his present condition, charity required, that I should write to him a letter to give him comfort, and an assurance of my friendship; and this he intreated me to do.

I SECONDED the good intentions of his majesty without any reluctance, and, I may even say, with more sincerity than he required of me, except that I could not prevail upon myself to write to Villeroi, that I held him entirely disculpated. This I thought would appear a ridiculous piece of flattery: I said enough to afford him the means of persuading the public, by my letter, that I was convinced he was innocent of the capital crime of which he was accused. I gave him the hint of the declaration he published some days afterwards, and represented to him, that he ought to endeavour to shut the mouths of the protestants, to whose censure he had laid himself open; and that the only method he could use for that purpose, was to relax a little of that violence he had shewn against them, by seeking to inspire the catholics with more benevolent sentiments of them; and

and lastly, to appear publicly the promoter of that regulation I had so often proposed to him to establish a perfect concord between these two bodies. If in this letter I added, that his absolute justification in the king's opinion depended upon his future behaviour, and if as to what had passed I produced the example of marechal Biron, it was only in obedience to the king's commands, who was willing to appear indulgent, but not weak.

VILLEROI, in his answer to my letter, thanked me for the advice I had given him, which he assured me he would exactly follow, and for my good offices, which he protested he would never forget. He confessed, that he ought not to have so blindly confided in a young man like L'Hote, and was candid enough to acknowledge, that although his conscience did not reproach him with the guilt of any crime against the king, yet the error he had fallen into was sufficient to cast a stain upon his reputation, which all the faithful services he was resolved to continue to render his majesty, during the remainder of his life, would never wipe off. In his defence he only said, that the great obligations L'Hote had received from him were what made it so difficult for him to believe he could fail in his duty. Villeroi seldom wrote to me without renewing the mention of his fault, his misfortune, and his innocence, and almost always the obligations he thought he owed to me on this occasion.

It appeared, that Barrault did not give credit to the injurious reports that were spread of Villeroi by his enemies, since he wrote to him, a short time afterwards, and gave him an account of a conversation between himself and Prada, of which L'Hote was the subject. Rafis had reason to be satisfied with the recompence that was made him; besides the sum of fifteen hundred and sixty livres, which he received from Barrault when he left Spain, a gratuity of a thousand crowns was bestowed on him, and

and all the conditions agreed by the ambassador were fulfilled. This did not hurt Barrault himself, being paid in the last quarter of his pension. Descartes represented to the king, that a man could not live in Spain but at great expence ; and that, notwithstanding all my letters, his master had not been able to get any thing from that quarter.

THE paper upon religion, that has been mentioned before, consisted of some articles, which, if received by the catholics and protestants, appeared to me capable of uniting the two religions, by destroying that detestable prejudice which makes them load each other with the harsh accusations of heresy and treason, impiety and idolatry. This paper I had drawn up with the consent and approbation of his majesty ; and I shewed it to him several times, in the presence of the bishop of Evreux, Bellievre, Villeroi, Sillery, and father Cotton.

IF the protestants do not believe all the catholics profess, it cannot at least be denied, that we believe nothing which they do not likewise ; and that what we believe contains all that is essential to the Christian Religion, the Ten Commandments, the Apostles Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, being the great and general foundation † of our common faith. Here then let us stop, and consider the rest as so many dubious points, about which men may be left at full liberty to have different opinions. We are persuaded, that it is not only useless, but criminal, to search into the secrets of the Almighty ; but we not only search into his secrets, but set up ourselves as judges of them, when we charge one another as criminal for having different opinions, and different degrees of knowledge, with relation to speculative truth, though knowledge, in all its different degrees, is received from God.

Let

† I do not think it necessary, to lose any time in giving a serious answer to these arguments of our author. After having allowed him the character of an able politician, we may, without injustice, deny his qualifications as a profound divine. What he says here may be called treating religion politically.

Let us leave to him alone the knowledge of his secrets, as well as the dispensations of his providence : let us allow to the sovereign magistrate, what the public good requires, the power of punishing those who violate the laws of charity in any society ; for it belongs not to any human judicature to punish errors only cognizable by God. Let us consider this in another view ; if our unhappiness be such, that the error is on our side, can the catholics imagine that they shall bring us into their notions by abuse and persecution ? Compassion and tenderness are the only means that do any service to religion, and the only means that religion dictates : the zeal which is so much boasted, is only rage or obstinacy, disguised under a reputable appellation. This was the ground-work of my paper : nothing can be more plain or more true ; but the power which men allow truth to have over them is very small ; and what is generally called reason in religion, if examined well, is, in most men, nothing more than their own passion.

IF to reconcile the two religions is morally impossible, it may, with equal certainty, be said to be politically impossible, since it cannot be done without the concurrence of the pope, which cannot be expected, since it was not obtained in the pontificate of Clement VIII. who, of all the popes that have for a long time sat in the see of Rome, was most free from party prejudices, and had more of that gentleness and compassion which the gospel prescribes to all its followers.

THE holy father was at this time so old and infirm, that his death was hourly expected. The king thought it necessary to send the cardinals de Joyeuse, and de Sourdis to Rome, to manage the interests of the nation in the approaching conclave. His majesty, by the advice of cardinal Joyeuse, gave de Sourdis nine thousand livres for his equipage, and the expence of his journey, with a pension of two thousand

thousand four hundred crowns a year, during the time that he staid at Rome upon his affairs.

ONE of the last actions of Clement the eighth was the promotion of eighteen cardinals at one time, which made it generally believed that this Pope, finding himself near his end, was desirous of giving his nephew cardinal Aldobrandin a last proof of his affection, that, according to all appearances, would place him upon the pontifical throne, by the great number of dependants on his family which were introduced into the conclave, or, at least, that the papal dignity should be conferred on one under whom this cardinal might expect to govern. Two of these hats were to be given to France : and the choice of the two men whom the king was to name to his holiness for this dignity, was the occasion of a strong intrigue at court, between the bishop of Evreux and Seraphin Olivary * on one side, and messieurs de Villars, archbishop of Vienne, and de Marquemont on the other. The two last were supported by the interest of Bellievre, Villeroy, Sillery, and all their friends ; and I thought myself obliged to range myself on the side of Du-Perron and Olivary, the one being my bishop and particular friend, and the other remarkably distinguished for his eminent piety. Notwithstanding all the intrigues of the opposite party, Du-Perron and Olivary were preferred ; and the former, by my advice, wrote a letter of thanks to Villeroy, as if he had really solicited his advancement : such is the custom of courts.

THE pressing affairs that had obliged his majesty to leave Chantilly, and at the beginning of spring, was the clearing and signing the common computations for the expence of his buildings, his hunting, his privy purse, as likewise of the fortifications, artillery,

* Seraphin Olivary Cazailla, an Italian by descent, but born at Lyons, patriarch of Alexandria. Jerom de Villars. Denis de Marquemont, archbishop of Lyons : he afterwards was made a cardinal, and ambassador from France to Rome.

tillery, and roads. When the day was fixed for the transacting this business, his majesty, to shun that crowd of petitioners who waited only for an opportunity of seeing us together, sent the young Lomenie to tell me that I need not come to the Louvre, because he would be himself the next day at the arsenal; and accordingly he came so early in the morning, that many of the officers, concerned in the affairs that were to be settled, all of whom I had sent for, were not yet come. The number of these was far from being inconsiderable, governors of fortresses, engineers, intendants, and comptrollers of the buildings, the several persons belonging to the board of ordnance, overseers of bridges and causeys, and others.

HENRY had something of consequence to impart to me; I judged so by that deep melancholy which, notwithstanding his endeavours to disguise, appeared in his countenance and language, and also because he led me into the great gallery of arms, the place where he generally communicated his secrets to me: and here the reader may expect to find one of those remarkable conversations that he has already met with in these Memoirs.

OUR discourse did not begin with the chief causes of his uneasiness: the heart, involved in its own vexation, has need, in the first instant, of the help of other objects to be disentangled, especially if with this vexation be mingled something of confusion. Therefore the dukes of Bouillon and Tremouille, with the rest of that cabal, were the subject he first led to; these persons having lately through malice united themselves with the prince of Condé, the marchioness of Verneuil, and the family of d'Entragues; and those from whom his majesty had received this information, offered to prove the truth of it by their own letters, and other undeniable testimonies.

HAVING desired this prince to allow me a whole day to consider what advice it was most proper to
give

give him on occasion of this new intrigue, he changed the discourse to his excursion to Chantilly, his hunting; and afterwards he gave me an account of his losses at play, the money he laid out in presents to his mistresses, and other superfluous expences, which were to have their place in the expence of the current year, as well as the money applied to the manufactures and other buildings, which altogether made up so considerable a sum, that Henry, who secretly reproached himself for these extravagancies, could think of no better expedient to prevent the confusion he expected my remonstrances would give him, than to add, before I had time to reply, that I might also place there a gratuity of six thousand crowns, which he now granted me. This precaution could not hinder me from giving evident marks of my astonishment and grief at the increase of such trifling expences. Henry again endeavoured to avoid coming to any explanation with me, by saying, that, after spending so great a part of his life in continual labours and fatigue, he had a right to allow himself now some indulgence in his pleasures. I answered the king with my accustomed sincerity and firmness, that what he said was indeed very reasonable and just, if, instead of those great projects he had communicated to me, and which by his orders I had imparted to the king of England, he had resolved to pass the rest of his life in the enervating pleasures of luxury; but that if he still retained any thoughts of pursuing his former schemes, he would deceive himself greatly if he supposed them compatible with such expensive amusements, and therefore he must determine his choice upon the one or the other. I stopped at these words; Henry having silently listened to me while I was speaking, like a man who was full of anxiety, and wholly absorbed in thought. But the present disposition of the heart, whatever that may be, always governs our first emotions, and in him that moment produced nothing but vexation and

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rage : yet he contented himself with telling me, that he perceived I had entertained very unfavourable thoughts of him, and commanded me, without troubling him any more, to carry the sums he had mentioned to account.

STILL, however, I was not discouraged. I knew the heart of this prince as well as my own ; I had always found him sensible to glory, and open to conviction, and I could not believe him changed in so short a time : instead therefore of having recourse to the ordinary palliatives, after telling him, that I saw plainly the freedom I had formerly used in my representations was now become displeasing to him, I again renewed the former subject, and talked to him of the measures he had already taken in Germany and Italy, to prepare the way for those glorious actions he one day intended to perform, and the success the persons he had employed there for that purpose had already found. I repeated, that it was useless to take all this trouble, if the money that should be destined for those great enterprises, was squandered away on unnecessary expences. I convinced him, by a very exact calculation, that he could not engage in the execution of these designs, without having before hand forty-five millions entire, that is, the revenue of two years, which it required the strictest œconomy to keep together ; and that with this sum the war could not be supported more than three years, without anticipating the royal revenues, or burthening the people with extraordinary taxes. This the following calculation makes evident.

THE maintenance of an army of fifty thousand foot, which is the least that could be employed on this occasion, will cost nine hundred thousand livres a month, and nine millions a year, allowing only ten months to the year ; six thousand horse, which is the number answerable to such a body of infantry, will require three hundred and forty thousand livres a month, that is, three millions four hundred thousand
livres

livres a year ; a train of artillery of forty pieces of cannon, cannot well be supplied at a less expence than a hundred and fifty thousand livres a month, and fifteen hundred thousand a year. These three articles alone make up fourteen millions each year ; and by consequence near forty-two millions will be required for the three years together, on a supposition that the war will continue so long. The expence of making levies, of hiring carriages, of victual, and other things absolutely necessary at the beginning of the war, cannot be estimated at less than a hundred and fifty thousand livres ; the waste of that victual, with other unforeseen expences in ammunition, must amount likewise to the same sum. The remainder of the forty-five millions, it may easily be imagined will be consumed in extraordinary expences, too tedious to insert here.

THE king still answered, that, before every thing could be in readiness for the execution of these schemes, so many obstacles would arise as to render all his endeavours useless : but while he spoke in this manner, I perceived that his anger was already wholly extinguished, and that he approved of all I had said to him. This he immediately after confessed, and, at the same time, declared, with a sincerity truly commendable in an absolute prince, that the obstacles he had raised, and the severe things he had said to me, proceeded only from the anxiety of a heart oppressed with a more cruel affliction than that he had at first complained of when he mentioned the traitorous cabal, and that his peace was wholly ruined by the behaviour of the queen, and the marchioness of Verneuil. These words, unhappily but too sincere, changed the subject of our conversation.

HENRY's passion for mademoiselle d'Entragues was one of those unhappy diseases of the mind, that, like a slow poison, preyed upon the principles of life ; for the heart, attacked in its most sensible part, feels,

feels, indeed, the whole force of its misfortune, but, by a cruel fatality, has neither the power, nor the inclination to be freed from it. This prince suffered all the insolence, the caprices, and inequalities † of temper, that a proud and ambitious woman is capable of shewing. The marchioness of Verneuil had wit enough to discover the power she had over the king; and this power she never exerted but to torment him. She talked to him continually of her scruples, and regretted the facility with which she had yielded to his desires; scruples which he resented with so much the more reason, as he was not ignorant that she forgot them entirely with persons of inferior rank. They now seldom met but to quarrel: Henry paid a high price for favours which were not endeared by that tender sympathy which forms the happiness of lovers, and which, to complete his misfortune, occasioned almost continual uneasiness between him and the queen his wife.

THIS princess, on her side, who had from nature a temper too uncomplying, and from her country a strong propensity to jealousy, not being able to make her rival feel all the effects of her hatred, revenged herself upon her husband: and thus was this unhappy prince exposed to the fury of two women, who agreed in nothing but in separately conspiring to destroy

† He reproaches her on this account, in some of his letters, which have been preserved amongst the manuscripts in the king's library, and are of his own hand-writing. He writes to his lady in these terms: "I perceive from your letter, that neither your eyes, nor your understanding are extremely clear, since you have taken what I wrote to you in a quite different sense from what I intended. An end must be put to these pertnesses, if you propose to keep the entire possession of my love; for neither as a king or a Gascon, can I submit to them: besides, those who love sincerely as I do, expect to be flattered, not scolded, &c." "You have promised me," says he in another letter, "to behave with more prudence, but you must be sensible, the style of your other letter could not but give me offence," &c. Amongst other original letters of Henry the Great, in possession of the present duke of Sully, there is one from this prince to his mistress. See the collection of the letters of Henry the Great, lately published.

stroy his quiet. Whatever endeavours were used to produce a reconciliation between the king and his wife, were rendered ineffectual almost at the same moment : the queen began immediately to require a sacrifice that Henry could not make her ; and his refusal, though softened with the grant of every other wish, affected her so sensibly, that she forgot all his compliances, and laboured herself to continue the cause of her own uneasiness, by depriving him, together with the privileges of a husband, of all that tenderness and regard that conciliates affection and fixes inclination.

SHE was soon informed, that the king had given mademoiselle d'Entraques a promise of marriage, the original of which, as I have formerly mentioned, had been torn by me, but another had been drawn up by the king ; and she never ceased tormenting him till he had promised to get from his mistress this paper, which all the ecclesiastics whom she consulted assured her was of no force. Henry, merely to oblige her, at length resolved to desire the marchioness to restore it ; and he demanded it of her in a manner that shewed he would not be refused. He had just left her when he came to the arsenal : the effort he had made upon himself to take this step, the little advantage he had drawn from it, and the offensive language with which his mistress had accompanied her refusal, had altogether produced that deep affliction in which I saw him.

THE marchioness of Verneuil, upon the first intimation that it was expected she should resign the promise of marriage, threw herself into the most violent transport of rage imaginable, and told the king, insolently, that he might seek it elsewhere. Henry, that he might finish at once all the harsh things he had to say to her, began to reproach her with her connexions with the count d'Auvergne her brother, and with the malecontents of the kingdom. She would not condescend to clear herself of this imputed crime,

crime, but assuming in her turn the language of reproach, she told him, that it was not possible to live any longer with him ; that as he grew old he grew jealous and suspicious, and that she would with joy break off a correspondence for which she had been too ill rewarded to find any thing agreeable in it, and which rendered her, she said, the object of the public hatred. She carried her insolence so far, as to speak of the queen in terms so contemptuous, that if we may believe Henry, he was upon the point of striking her ; and that he might not be forced to commit such an outrage to decency, he was obliged to quit her abruptly, but full of rage and vexation, which he was at no pains to conceal, swearing that he would make her restore the promise that had raised this storm.

AFTER giving me this account of the behaviour of his mistress, the remembrance of which renewed all his rage, he was forced to grant (and without his confession I should have much suspected it) that he should with difficulty bring himself to a resolution of keeping the oath he had made in the first sallies of his fury : and as it is usual with lovers, who never have so strong an inclination to praise the object of their passion, as after they have said all the injurious things possible of them, Henry fell again upon the good qualities of his mistress, when out of those capricious humours, and when those sudden gusts of passion had subsided. He praised, with a transport of delight, the charms of her conversation, her sprightly wit, her repartees so poignant, yet so full of delicacy and spirit ; and here indeed he had some foundation for his praises. The queen's temper and manners were so different, that the contrast made him still more sensible of those charms in his mistress. " I find nothing of all this at home, said he to me. " I receive neither society, amusement, nor content " from my wife ; her conversation is displeasing, " her temper harsh, she never accommodates herself " to

“ to my humour, nor shares in any of my cares ;
“ when I enter her apartment, and offer to approach
“ her with tenderness, or begin to talk familiarly
“ with her, she receives me with so cold and forbidding an air, that I quit her in disgust, and am
“ obliged to seek consolation elsewhere. When
“ my cousin Guise is at the Louvre, I have recourse
“ to her conversation to banish my uneasiness ; yet
“ she often tells me plain truths, but it is with so
“ good a grace that I cannot be offended, and am
“ forced to laugh with her.” Such was the disposition of this prince ; and probably the queen had only herself to blame, that she had not been able to draw him out of the snares of her rival, or to disengage him from every other intrigue of gallantry : at least, he appeared to me to be absolutely sincere, and to have the best intentions imaginable, when he pressed me, at the conclusion of this discourse, to use my utmost endeavours to prevail upon the queen his wife, to alter her behaviour, and accommodate herself more to his humour.

I WAS about to answer, for this subject seemed not yet half discussed, when we were interrupted by messieurs De-Vic, de Trigny, de Pilles, de Fortria, and others, who entered that moment, and told his majesty, that the persons whom he had ordered to attend him had waited more than an hour, and that it was so late it would be impossible to do all the business that morning. The king, after recommending secrecy to me, followed them into the hall, and gave the rest of that day, and the two following, wholly to the affairs that had brought him to the arsenal. The office of surveyor of the highways in Guienne was given, at my solicitation, to Biçose †, who was then in his service. A commissioner was named to go and pull down the fort of Craon. Many other new dispositions were made, which I shall not mention here.

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† N. de Biçose or Vissouse : he was secretary of the finances.

THE king did not fail to take the first opportunity to renew the conversation that had been so unseasonably interrupted: he had a reconciliation with the queen so much at heart, that he wrote me billet after billet, enjoining me to undertake the task he had proposed to me. I was sensible I ran great hazards by obeying him: a too free and too ardent zeal on these occasions with persons of this rank often exposes the mediator to the resentment of one of the parties, and sometimes to that of both; besides, to speak candidly, this employment was less suitable to me than to any other person, these little broils being extremely disagreeable to my temper.

I THEREFORE resolved to omit no persuasions which I thought capable of making Henry himself take the only reasonable measures that was left him. I brought arguments, exhortations, examples, to prove that it depended upon himself to regain his quiet, and fix it upon solid foundations; and all that was necessary for this purpose, was to exert the master and the king, oblige the queen to keep her ill humours to herself and forbear her reproaches, and, above all, her complaints in public, which produced nothing but indecent reflections: and as to those who by their malicious informations embittered the mind of this princess, to punish them severely for the slightest word they dared to utter against him. I represented to this prince, that to secure his own peace and the happiness of his life, required only that he should exert a very small part of that courage and strength of mind he had shewn on occasions of a very different nature; that his reputation suffered from that tender fault in his constitution, almost incomprehensible in so great a prince. I told him, that a sovereign, without incurring the imputation of tyranny, and by the sole privilege of his high office, might exact from his subjects and family, as well for his own person as his state, that obedience so necessary to preserve a just subordination
and

and secure respect; and that it was absolutely fit and just, that he should chastise such persons who made it their business to destroy his domestic quiet. To these arguments I added the strongest entreaties; I conjured Henry with lifted hands, and eyes swimming in tears, to employ his authority on this occasion: the condition I saw him in filled me with the deepest concern.

It is certain that this prince had no other part left him to take; and I could never comprehend why he appeared so strongly averse to it. He remembered the advice I had given him at Blois, which being so different from that I pressed him now to follow, gave him a kind of advantage over me: he seemed to be pleased with having an opportunity to tell me, that I perhaps was the true cause of all that had since happened. But there was nothing solid in this objection, if well examined; and when I dissuaded his majesty from having recourse to measures which might have produced dangerous consequences (this I cannot speak more clearly without betraying the secret I then vowed to keep) I had no intention to exclude him from taking such gentle and easy methods, as would be justifiable in the father of a family to secure the tranquillity of his house. And Henry was reduced to the necessity of owning, that if I were well acquainted with his disposition, I would be convinced it was absolutely out of his power to act with rigour towards persons with whom he was accustomed to live in familiarity, and above all to his wife.

I HAD nothing left but to tell him, that then he must banish his mistress, and give his wife all the satisfaction she could require. But he prevented me, by saying, that he was ready, if it must be so, to remove all cause of complaint from the queen, provided he could be assured, that after making her so great a sacrifice, he should find her such as he wished: but that he foresaw he should be plagued all the remainder of his life, because this princess was weak and

obstinate enough to believe, that by acting in the manner she did, she followed the dictates of reason; when, in effect, she was only governed by her passions. Henry, to convince me of the justness of this fear, entered into a long enumeration of the queen's faults, in which he but repeated to me what he had said before, upon the delight she took in contradicting and teasing him; he only added, that she had discovered the most violent hatred to all his natural children, although born before she came into France, which it was not probable she would ever remit; he dwelt upon the little sensibility she had shewn to his tenderness and regard for her, or gratitude for the extreme attention with which he prevented all the occasions she might have for money, although he was not ignorant that she never received any but to squander upon Leonora and her husband, and some others, who were continually filling her ears with malicious stories, and giving her bad advice: he took me to witness, that never queen of France had received so many and such considerable grants; and it is certain, that I had been the first to favour and solicit for them by my wife, and this I did with a view to peace, which is often purchased by these means, and always by the king's orders. By the rage this prince expressed against Conchini and his wife, whom he considered as the creatures of Spain, and spies of the duke of Florence, no one, doubtless, would have chosen to be in the place of these two Italians; but this rage had no other consequences than making him condemn himself for not following the advice I was free enough to give him when the queen came into France, which was, to forbid all her Italian attendants to pass the Alps with her.

THIS long conversation concluded with the same request as the preceding one had done, that I should attempt, by the gentlest methods I could think of, to persuade the queen to more condescension to her husband's

husband's will, without giving her cause to suspect that I acted by his orders. Henry used every argument which he thought likely to have any force with me to engage me to undertake this task, telling me he did not doubt my success, having, on an occasion similar to this, prevailed upon the queen to write a letter to him, when no one else could.



B O O K XVIII.

AT the very time that the king gave me this commission to the queen, chance offered me a very favourable opportunity to execute it. The most common method of making grants to this princess, was either to create edicts in her favour, as those which I have just mentioned, or by granting to her the money paid upon contracts and bargains which succeeded through her interest and protection. These edicts and contracts always passed through my hands before they took effect; and it was my business to name, examine, and authorise the persons concerned.

THE queen was offered four and twenty thousand livres, to procure the grant of an edict concerning the officers of the excise in Languedoc. She sent d'Argouges † to shew me the edict, and acquaint me with the proposal. I told d'Argouges, that his majesty might indeed, without doing the public any injustice, grant the favour the queen required, but that I did not think she took a good opportunity to obtain it; the king appearing to be so discontented with some late proceedings of this princess, that I was afraid he would not have this complaisance for her, unless she first endeavoured to remove his displeasure;

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† Florent d'Argouges, treasurer of the queen's household: his son was first president of the parliament of Brittany, and at the time of his death, a counsellor of state, and of the privy council,

pleasure ; and I took the liberty to offer her my advice and services on this occasion, if she thought I could be of any use to her. The queen, tempted by a sum so considerable, accepted my offer, and promised every thing, believing that, by writing a submissive letter to the king, as she had done before, she should certainly succeed : accordingly she wrote a letter, and sent for me to shew it me, appearing willing to alter whatever I judged improper in it.

NEVER had any step she had taken cost her so much. She had so great an aversion for the marchioness of Verneuil, that she would hardly deign to pronounce her name : but if any circumstance occurred to introduce the mention of her, her gestures, her emotions, her very silence itself, expressed, in the most lively manner, what she would not say. As it was absolutely necessary to accustom her to hear her rival spoken of, I put her upon this subject without reserve ; and then she consoled herself with giving the marchioness the most severe epithets her imagination could furnish her with ; she said she never could resolve to look favourably upon a woman who had dared to bring herself in comparison with her, and inculcated the same insolence and want of respect for her in her children, who embroiled the state by countenancing the malecontents, while the king, blinded by his passion, took no care to restrain her.

I BEGAN by sympathising with her in her griefs ; but shewing her how much the cause of them was increased by her behaviour to the king, I made her so fully sensible of her fault, that she wrote another letter in the terms I dictated to her, and sent it to the king, who had left her at Fontainebleau, and was then at Paris. While he was under the impression of the joy this letter gave him, he returned her an answer so tender and polite, as it might naturally be expected would produce one from the queen in the same strain : but unfortunately, just before this letter

letter was delivered to her, her emissaries had informed her, that the king was gone as usual to the marchioness de Verneuil, and insinuated that he was diverting himself with his mistress at her credulity. She now forgot all that she had promised, said the king had deceived her; and, instead of writing, told the messenger who brought her his majesty's letter, with a cold and contemptuous air, that she need not write, since she expected to see the king the next day, as he had promised her. The king was piqued, as it was natural he should be, at this behaviour, and could not be silent: those that heard what he said in the first emotions of his anger, were not persons who he could expect would be as secret as I was, to whom he wrote directly. All that was said on both sides was reported to each of them, and matters were now in a worse state than before.

I WAS now engaged in a new affair, that of settling the debate; but at most I could expect only an interval of peace, which would continue no longer than others had done, while his majesty could not prevail upon himself to take the only effectual methods that remained. These proposals I again made him, when he sent La-Varenne for me one day, to find, if possible, some remedy for his continual disquiets, which became every day more insupportable. I found him in the Orangerie of the Tuilleries, which a shower of rain had obliged him to enter; and as he was repeatedly pressing me to tell him what he should do, and, upon my refusal, absolutely commanded me to give him my advice; "Then oblige
" four or five persons, said I to him, to pass the sea,
" and as many others the Alps." The king answered, that half of my counsel he could follow without any difficulty, since nothing hindered him from exercising some severity upon those seditious persons who were conspiring against him in his court, but that it was not the same with the Italians; because that he not only had every thing to apprehend from that
vindictive

vindictive people, but likewise by removing her favourites, he should give such offence to the queen, as would render her for ever implacable. The king, after reflecting a little upon the proposal I had made him, fell upon a very singular expedient, which was, to get this princess herself to consent to what I had advised. He stopped there, as if the thing had really been possible, and insisted upon my using all my endeavours to work this miracle, promising me, that if I succeeded, he would, from that moment, renounce all his gallantries. After the king had given me this new commission, he left me, as he said, to meditate upon it, and continued his walk alone in the garden, the rain having ceased during our conversation.

I DID not begin with the queen, by asking immediately a sacrifice which I saw she was not disposed to make; I believed, that if ever a favourable opportunity offered to prevail upon her, it would be when there was a perfect agreement between their majesties; and this I laboured with so much assiduity to produce, that at length I reconciled them more thoroughly than they had ever been before; they agreed to forget all the past, and for the future to be deaf to all malicious informers. This calm lasted three weeks, and during that time the court was full of joy, and different amusements were thought of every day: but some new stratagems of the marchioness de Verneuil's having produced their ordinary effect, these good resolutions vanished again, and it became necessary, as a last resource, to attempt the expedient proposed by the king.

It may easily be imagined, in what manner the queen received a proposal to send away, in some sort disgracefully, those persons of her household whom she loved the most. I expected she would refuse me, and I had no hopes but from my obstinacy in returning often to the charge: but this princess continued inflexible; and, to say the truth, Henry, on his

his side, so ill performed the promise he had given me, to reward this sacrifice by that of renouncing all other attachments but to his wife, that she drew from thence her best arguments for not yielding to mine.

WHAT I had foreseen, really happened; the queen, instigated by those whom I directly attacked, began to seek a quarrel even with me, and complained that I had not kept my word with her, as if it had been in my power to separate Henry from his mistress. But I did not fail to observe to her, that she performed her promise no better; and by that appearance of coldness and dislike, which, after so many relapses, the king looked upon as insurmountable, she was herself the cause of that evil she imputed to me. I proposed madame de Guise to her as an example she should follow, if she ever hoped to fix the king's affections solely upon herself. She afterwards complained publicly, that I did not pay all the respect I ought to have done to her letters: this I was acquainted with by the wife of Conchini, who was less unreasonable and imprudent, than any other of her favourites, by whom she was absolutely governed. To this complaint I answered, that it was indeed true I did not always pay regard to letters which I saw written by the hand of any of her secretaries, because they were either dictated without her knowledge, by unjust solicitors who abused her name, or written with a view to draw her resentment upon me if I refused to comply with them; but as for those written with her own hand, I defied any one to accuse me with having neglected to answer them with the utmost deference and respect.

To say the truth, it was absolutely necessary that I should continually call to remembrance, as I did, the duty I owed to the wife of my king, that I might not be carried by her unreasonable importunities to any failure of respect or obedience; for indeed there was no end of her demands: the expences of her household

household alone cost the king every year three hundred and forty-five thousand livres; all the gratuities, contracts, and edicts, that were made in her favour were not sufficient to supply her other expences: she one day, in a fit of ill-humour, pawned her rings and jewels, or rather those that belonged to the queens of France, and there was a necessity for drawing money from the exchequer to redeem them; the edict of exempts was passed in every parish for her advantage; some receivers of Rouerque and Quercy being behind-hand in their payments, the money was applied to her uses; she took upon herself to pay the nuptial expences of Santi, her Italian gardener, and asked me for six hundred livres for that purpose: this was indeed but a trifling sum, but by such trifles as these one may judge of this princess's disposition with regard to oeconomy. What could I do in this perplexing situation, since the inconvenience was equal, whether I granted all, or refused all, but to refuse whatever was really an encroachment upon justice, and a detriment to the public good, and in such demands as must indispensably be granted, and especially edicts, to prevent any oppression in levying the money? As to their majesties personal quarrels, it must be confessed, that in the king's conduct there were unaccountable weaknesses, and in the queen's inexcusable irregularities.

FROM the little success I had met with ever since I had first interposed in these domestic debates, I at length was fully convinced, that in these affairs such only as were interested should undertake to mediate between the parties; I therefore quietly slipped my neck out of the collar, and willingly left the field open to Sillery, whom the king likewise made use of on this occasion. He sometimes found that Sillery managed the two ladies better than I, which I had no difficulty to believe: this employment required complaisance and dissimulation; I could neither

ther flatter the sentiments of others, nor disguise my own; and without this there was nothing to hope for, and every thing to fear: and there the resentment of a wife and a mistress both was to be dreaded, which made the danger so much the greater. By what has been related, my first observation has been fully made out; and the second, I may say, was no less verified by the event, since, if I had not been extremely cautious, I should have certainly been the victim of the lover and the mistress, and upon the following occasion.

AT the time when the misunderstanding between Henry and the marchioness of Verneuil increased every day, I was desired by the king to make her very severe reproaches in his name. Instead of relenting, or confessing her fault, she assumed so haughty an air, and answered with so little respect, that this once I began to hope the affair would not end but in an open rupture, which was what I most ardently wished for: she not only refused to give his majesty the satisfaction he demanded of her, but appeared so fully determined to break off all commerce with the king, that she even went so far, as to solicit me in the most earnest manner imaginable, to prevail upon the king to consent to this resolution, as being equally necessary to the future happiness of them both; and desired, that as soon as I went home I would write a letter to the king, which had been concerted between us, in which she expressed herself in terms strong enough to make me conclude she acted sincerely. However, the knowledge I had of this woman's character was sufficient to give me apprehensions that she would disavow all that I should write to the king, and pretend that I had endeavoured, by underhand practices, to widen the breach between her and this prince: a conduct which, indulgent as he was, he would have never been able to pardon; for in affairs of love he carried his sensibility and delicacy very far. I therefore took the precau-

tion to send this letter to the marchioness before it was given to the king, and at the same time desired she would read and examine it with attention, that she might be convinced I had said nothing more in this letter (which was very long) than she had dictated to me; and intreated her to let me know, whether I had not scrupulously observed the purport of her words. I recommended it in a particular manner to the bearer, to bring me back no verbal message, but to oblige this lady to write what she thought necessary to be altered in the letter, and all that she would have me add to it.

SHE had already relaxed much from the severity of her first resolution; my messenger perceived it, by her cavilling at the terms, and appearing dissatisfied, though she did not give the least hint that the letter should be suppressed. My servant finding that she returned the letter, after all this vague declamation, without any positive answer, remembered the orders I had given him, and told her, that having a very indifferent memory, he intreated that she would write down what she had just said to him, that he might not incur any blame from his master for his having forgot, or imperfectly reported, any of her words. She understood his meaning, but had gone too far to recede; she therefore took the pen, and wrote to me, that she approved of the whole letter, except one expression, which was sufficient, she said, to put the king into a violent passion. I had told the king in this letter, that the marchioness entreated him still to allow her the honour of seeing him sometimes, but to have no private correspondence with her: the last words she softened by adding, "that might be prejudicial to him," which made no great difference.

I CAREFULLY deposited the marchioness's letter, and sent mine to the king, not without having some hopes, that pride and affronted love, if not reason, would prevail upon him to concur in the resolution
his

his mistress had taken, and that he would at length cease to be the slave of a woman. In effect, he read my letter twice over with all the indignation and rage which might naturally be expected. "How!" said he, "does she desire our correspondence may be broke off? I desire it more ardently than she does; she shall be taken in her own snares." The king uttered these words in a low voice, but my messenger heard them. He asked for paper and pens, and wrote a billet to me that instant, in which he promised, that on the Monday following the marchioness of Verneuil should receive a letter from his hand, which should prove that he still knew how to command his passions.

THIS billet of the king's was dated the 16th of April, but that of Monday never came; but on his arrival at Paris, he flew immediately to his mistress's house, flattering himself that he should at least overwhelm her with confusion, and force from her a thousand painful regrets. Far from it: it was himself that played this part; he disavowed all that his agents had done; he condemned himself; in a word, he threw himself upon the mercy of her who had just treated him with the utmost contempt. Then it was that I thought myself happy to be possessed of a letter from the marchioness that could restrain his resentment against me. She however imagined, that this letter could not hinder me from appearing, through her representations, as an incendiary and slanderer. I would not take upon me to answer for Henry's good opinion of me that moment; the letter I shewed him when he came to the arsenal undeceived him, but it could not open his eyes upon the arts of his unworthy mistress; he told me at parting, that he would chide her severely. I did not believe him; and indeed how could I after what had just happened?

AFTER the reconciliation between the king and the queen, which was made, as has been seen, at the

the expence of the marchioness of Verneuil; this woman, who for the first time thought herself really abandoned, undertook to ruin this peace, and unhappily but too well accomplished her purpose. It is wonderful to think how many springs she put in motion to awaken the king's love for her, and excite his jealousy; even religion was profaned to serve her purpose; she would be a nun, and devote herself to perpetual confinement; she openly joined the party of the malecontents, she sought out all the young women to whom Henry had discovered any attachment, and prevailed upon them to forge such promises of marriage as that he had given to her; she made so insolent an use of that, as to pretend to derive from it a chimerical right to get the queen's marriage annulled; and, what is hardly to be credited, found ecclesiastics who countenanced her in these extravagancies, and who were hardy enough to publish the banns of marriage, which she boasted she would oblige the king to contract with her. At the same time a great number of letters and memoirs were distributed among the public, in which the ridiculous pretensions of this woman were supported †. Henry would have given any reward for a discovery of the author of these writings, his whole court were employed to find them out, and myself among the rest.

I SHOULD never come to an end if I undertook to relate all the circumstances of this affair, which, trifling as the greater part of them are, brought a good deal of trouble upon some that had a share in it: but I am weary of displaying those little weaknesses in a prince, who, on other occasions, has afforded me so many opportunities of admiring the heroic firmness

† See the cardinal D'Ossat's complaints on this occasion against the courts of Spain and Savoy, and in particular against a capuchin, called father Hillary, of Grenoble, who carried on a cabal at Rome in favour of the marchioness de Verneuil's party. Letters of the 22d February, and 15th October, 1601, and the 1st of April 1602. The liberty of publishing satirical libels was never so great as at that time.

firmness of his mind. This storm, which was occasioned by a mere love-quarrel, ended, as usual with Henry, in an increase of tenderness for his unworthy mistress, which carried the misunderstanding between him and the queen to greater heights than ever †. It was fixed, that by a most unaccountable contradiction in the nature of things, this prince should, throughout his whole life, seek his pleasures and gratifications at the expence of his quiet and his health. These two motives made me still interest myself in these unpleasant affairs; for I could not, without the most sensible affliction, see the health of a prince so dear to me declining every day. He had not indeed any illness this year that immediately threatened his life, but he never gave so much employment to the physicians, La Riviere and Du-Laurens; he was obliged to use bleeding often, and observed a strict regimen, to prevent the bad effects of a blood heavy and inflamed, which brought frequent indispositions upon him: rage, grief, and impatience, threw him into such an agitation, that one day, being violently offended at some late proceeding of the marchioness de Verneuil, the arm in which he had been bled the evening before, opened again, as he was sitting down to dinner. The queen accompanied him this year in his journey to Monceaux, whither he went to drink the waters of Pougues and Spa ‡, with the greater conveniency.

NOTHING would have been wanting to complete the unhappiness of these domestic quarrels, if queen Margaret had borne a part in them: this was the only

† “ The duke of Sully has often told me (says the author of *L’Histoire de la Mere et du Fils*) that he never knew them a week together without quarrelling. He also told me, that once the queen was so far transported with passion, that being near the king, and hastily lifting up her arm, he was so apprehensive she was going to do something further, that he caught hold of her with less respect than he wished to have done, and so roughly, that she afterwards complained he had struck her, &c.” Vol. I. p. 8.

‡ The Spa-waters are in the bishopric of Liege.

only misfortune that Henry escaped; and certainly this princess merited the highest encomiums for the sweetness of her temper, her resignation, and, above all, for her disinterestedness, in a situation that afforded her many arguments to urge a compliance with all she could desire; her demands were few, and for things not only necessary in themselves, but such as she had an incontestable right to, the fulfilling such engagements as had been made with her, and some exemptions for her borough of Usson; her chief solicitation was on account of succeeding to the possessions of her mother queen Catherine: that princess, by her contract of marriage with Henry II. was entitled to leave her effects, after the death of her sons, to her daughters, preferable to the natural children of her husband. Although this disposition was absolutely equitable, yet Charles of Valois, count of Auvergne †, pretended a claim, to the prejudice of Margaret. She had not the principal writings that proved the legality of hers: but the king interposed his authority to make it be given her; and that she should obtain the justice that was due to her. Margaret, during her whole life, maintained the same rectitude of conduct; and from her behaviour it could never be discovered that she had once been the wife of the king. I should not confine my praises to what I have already said of her, were I not apprehensive of being accused of partiality; since the interest which this princess had al-

ways

† By virtue of a deed of gift, which Henry III. had made to him of these estates. In 1606 the parliament confirmed the will of Catherine of Medicis, and adjudged these estates to Margaret of Valois. Brantome, in vol. VII. of his Memoirs, p. 38. gives an enumeration of these estates, consisting of the earldom of Auvergne, Lauragais, Leverous, Douzenac, Choussac, Gorreges, Hondocourt, &c. the yearly revenue of which, according to his account, amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand livres; besides that princess's portion of more than two hundred thousand crowns, or ducats, "which, says he, would be worth "now more than four hundred thousand;" together with a great quantity of furniture, plate, precious stones, jewels, &c.

ways the goodness to take in my fortune is well known; her letters to me were such as one would write to a sincere and unalterable friend. "You are always (thus she expresses herself in one of them) my resource, and, after God, my surest reliance."

BUT let us now pass to other cares and uneasinesses that the king suffered this year from a traitorous cabal, in which the marchioness de Verneuil will again have a place. Without repeating incessantly the names of the dukes of Bouillon, La-Tremouille, and de Rohan, the count d'Auvergne, d'Entragues, his wife, Du-Plessis, and the rest, it may be easily imagined that these are the persons I mean. The same spirit of sedition, by which they had acted in the intrigues they had set on foot with the protestant party in the synod of Gap, still directed their enterprises, and suggested to them innumerable stratagems, either to raise an insurrection among the king's subjects, or make him new enemies abroad. It is scarce credible how many slanderous lies were propagated of his majesty, how far they extended their influence, and how many plots were formed against the government by the authority of these leaders.

THE king, when he sent me to Paris, by d'Escures, some advices he had just received at Saint-Germain-en-laye, began in this manner: That although I had not already too favourable an opinion of this whole body, yet I should with difficulty believe what he had to write to me concerning it. Indeed I am obliged to confess, that the proceedings of the French protestants were such, as left them no reason to complain of any but themselves, if they one day met with a severe punishment for them. They boasted almost openly, that they would oblige his majesty, not only to receive the duke of Bouillon in his kingdom, but also to invest him with honours and offices worthy of a chief of the religion. Du-Plessis, the soul that animated this body, suggested
only

only such thoughts; La-Tremouille had prepared his creatures for undertaking all things, by persuading them, that they would very shortly behold a surprising revolution in France; the duke of Rohan, in the mean time, took upon himself to spread this report in foreign countries, and in England especially, by a trusty emissary named Durand, who used his utmost endeavours to draw off his Britannic majesty from Henry's party. This man, who at London assumed the title of M. de Haute-Fontaine, shewed himself so faithful and officious a servant, that the king, as well as every one else, was persuaded that he had exceeded his commission; for it was affirmed, that he had treated on conditions for the establishment of his master in England, where he wanted to get him naturalized: if this design was not Durand's alone, it could only be suggested by the dutchess's dowager of Rohan. It is also certain, that the duke of Rohan ordered Durand to present the king of England, in his name, with a horse of a great price, which, in the present conjuncture, it was not justifiable for him to do, without Henry's consent.

BUT it was more necessary to enter into a strict examination of the count of Auvergne's conduct, than any of the others; few persons were ignorant of his connexion with Spain. He was then in Auvergne, where he was not idle, either with respect to the common cause, or his own particular one; he had made use of the promise of marriage, given by Henry† to the marchioness de Verneuil his sister, to serve

† The historians give no clear account of the purport of the treaty entered into by the count of Auvergne with the Spanish council; but Amelot de La Houffaye will help us out on this occasion; and he is the more worthy of credit, as he assures us, that the count of Auvergne, and the marchioness of Verneuil, entrusted the original of this treaty to his grandfather on the mother's side, their near relation and intimate friend, called Antony-Eugene Chevillard, paymaster-general of the gendarmery of France. He further informs us, that Chevillard, being involved in the disgrace of the count of Auvergne, and sent to the Bastile, he kept the original of the treaty so well concealed in the skirt of his doublet, that

serve his designs, and joined to it, a claim of his own yet more ridiculous than this writing : but in Spain he found persons credulous enough to consider them both in a serious light : it is certain, that he had acquired great credit and strong influence there ; we shall soon see to what it conducted him.

THE methods his majesty made use of to render all these intrigues ineffectual, were to apply himself with his accustomed attention and assiduity to the affairs both within and without his kingdom, and to fill the intendances and other public offices with such men only as were distinguished for their merit, their probity, and zeal for his service. Boucault was an example of this, who, from an advocate only, was made president of the court of aids in Montpellier, in reward of having usefully served his majesty in Languedoc. Henry likewise commanded me to assemble the chancellor, Ville-roi, and Sillery, who with me composed a kind of council, to consider of this matter. By his orders, I still kept up a correspondence by letters with the principal protestants, which I own was of little service to his majesty : his chief dependance, and with reason, was upon the journey he proposed to make this year to
Provence

that no one discovered it ; and, finding himself treated as a state criminal, he, by degrees, eat both the treaty, and the ratification of it by the court of Spain annexed to it, up in the soups and other victuals, which were brought to his table. The king of Spain thereby promised to assist the count of Auvergne with troops and money, to place his nephew Henry of Bourbon on the throne, who was the son of Henry IV. by the marchioness of Verneuil, and who, in that writing, is styled dauphin of France, and lawful heir to the crown. Art. Entragues-Balsac, Touchet. Amelot de la Houssaye further assures us, in the note on the cardinal D'Ossat's letters above mentioned, that two capuchins, called father Hilary of Grenoble, and father Archangelo, the one at Paris, and the other at Rome, had the guidance of this conspiracy.

M. de Sully seems to insinuate, as if something further had been intended in favour of the count of Auvergne himself : perhaps he had some design of setting up some writing or disposition of his father Charles IX. by virtue whereof he might pretend to claim the crown in his own right. See also, on this subject, the Memoirs of the life of the president De Thou, and in particular his History, anno, 1605. Vitt. Siri's Mem. second. vol. I. p. 297.

Provence and Languedoc, while I on my side was to visit Poitou, and the western part of France.

I GREATLY approved of this design when Henry communicated it to me; and we employed ourselves together a long time in making preparations for these two journeys; the necessity for going to take possession of my government served me for a pretence for mine; the king wanted no excuse for his: on the contrary, it was fit he should not appear ignorant of the occasion that made his presence necessary in the southern provinces of his kingdom, and openly avow his expectations of the good effects it would produce. On some pretence or other, I was to visit, either in my rout, or by going a little about, Orleans, Touraine, Anjou, Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, and Guienne; and his majesty was likewise to take Berry, Bourbonnois, Lyonnois, and Dauphiné, in his way †, so that between us we were to go through almost all France. We settled the time of our departure, or stay, and even the place of our meeting, which was to be at Toulouse; and I looked upon his majesty's journey to be so certain, that I thought of nothing but of coming immediately to Paris (for all this was resolved on at Fontainebleau) to settle the affairs of the government, that our journey might not suffer any delay, it being resolved that we should set out some time in the present month of June at farthest. Such persons as had business depending in the king's council, pressed the conclusion of it with the utmost assiduity, as soon as the king's intention was made public: and the counsellors rejoiced at this eagerness, because, that great part of them being to attend the king in his journey, they did not chuse to leave the business they

† See the original of a letter written by Henry IV. to M de Rosny, on the subject of this journey to Poitou, dated the 20th of July 1604, with an indorsement thereon; as most of his letters have, in the handwriting of this minister. Henry IVth's letters.

they had begun, to be finished by the new council appointed by his majesty during his absence.

THIS scheme, so well concerted, was never carried into execution, with respect to the king's part in it. As soon as his majesty's intended journey was declared to the courtiers, all was presently in an uproar; and it caused, as usual, much commotion at court. There was not one to whom this design did not give great uneasiness, and who did not use his utmost endeavours to dissuade him from it; some, such as the ministers and great officers that were about his person, to spare the expences of so tedious a journey, and the gay delicate youth of the court to avoid the fatigue and other inconveniencies, usual in such expeditions; so that, when his majesty proposed the affair in form to his counsellors of state, whom he sent for expressly to Fontainebleau, and the principal lords of his court, assembled for that purpose, they opposed it with innumerable obstacles, without ever reaching the true one.

THEY alledged the uncertainty of the sieges of Ostend and Sluys; the fear of a league between England and Spain; the treaty of commerce depending between France and that crown; the affair of the count d'Auvergne and the marchioness de Verneuil; the misunderstanding that had risen lately between the republic of Grisons, and the count de Fuentes, concerning the Valtoline, in which France was indispensably obliged to interest herself, on account of the Venetians and the Swiss. All those affairs I have already mentioned, or shall do immediately: in a word, they found so many inconveniencies likely to accrue from this journey, and knew so well how to aggravate them, that the king was prevailed upon to alter his resolution.

THEY even suggested reasons to his majesty, to make him change his opinion as to the necessity of mine. The affairs that then lay before the council began to appear to him of such importance, that, to prevent

prevent losing sight of them for so long a time, he, for this once, desired me to confine my endeavours to what I could do, without going farther than Poitou, and remit, to another opportunity, my design of visiting the maritime coasts. I do not pretend to deny, that part of the arguments they made use of, to dissuade the king from his journey, had some weight: however, I believe I have mentioned the most important of them; and I still persisted in my first opinion, of the great advantage it would be to the state.

ONE man, whom the news of his majesty's intended journey did not a little perplex, and whose name probably the reader will not expect to find here, was Lesdiguières; and a report being then current, that the count of Soissons was shortly to be put in possession of those cautionary places given to Lesdiguières, it was natural for him to believe that he was personally concerned in the resolution his majesty had taken. His correspondence with the duke of Bouillon was just come to light; Morges, who had given secret advice of it from Dauphiné, brought proofs of it when he came to Paris, which were confirmed by Du-Bourg.

I SET out from Paris in the month of June, and took the shortest road to Poitou, accompanied by several persons of quality of that province, who, upon the report of my journey, ranged themselves about me, some of them with no other intention, but to pay me those honours which they thought due to their governor: but others, among whom, I may, without scruple, put † Richelieu and Pont-courlai, attended me in my expedition with no other view, but to get more certain intelligence of my designs, either from my own mouth, or by tampering with my people, to learn all that should be done or said in my family, that they might afterwards give the

† Francis du Pleffis de Richelieu, father of cardinal de Richelieu, and Francis de Vignerod de Pont-courlai.

the chiefs of the protestant party notice of all, and prepare them to oppose such measures, as they imagined I might be ordered to take against them in favour of the catholics; in a word, to take advantage of every little inadvertence, if it should happen that any did escape me, to render me criminal, or raise suspicions in the king's mind to my prejudice. But in this, my enemies did not succeed, however they might in some other of their designs; the correspondence his majesty did me the honour to keep regularly with me, when I was at any distance from him, still continued as usual; and I had even more frequent opportunities of entering into his confidence, and knowing to what degree he interested himself in the safety of my person. He often, with great goodness, bid me remember, that I was in a country where, whatever appearance the inhabitants might assume, it was certain they wished me no good, and that I ought to be continually on my guard against them.

It was but too true, that the king's enemies and mine had taken measures before hand to render all my endeavours fruitless, and to animate the populace against me: that which appeared most likely to produce this effect, was to spread a report, that the design which brought me to Poitou, was to force the proprietors † of the salt-pits to yield up their property, and to purchase them, for the king. Those in whom I discovered the greatest malevolence towards me, were such from whom it was least to be expected, my brethren the protestants: but I mean the principal ones only; yet these affected to pay me outwardly all imaginable honours; and, although they refused to let me into the secret of their debates, yet

† Peresfixe makes no doubt, but Henry IV. really had formed this design, and greatly commends him for it, as being the only certain method to free his people from the gabelle or salt duty, which, he asserts, this prince was fully determined to abolish, as well as the taille, p. 369.

yet it was always upon such plausible pretences, that I had room to feign myself entirely satisfied. They were apprehensive of Parabere, who was more particularly attached to me than any of the others, though they well knew his ardent zeal for his religion, because he was naturally frank and open in his temper, and had intentions far more equitable: they therefore commissioned d'Aubigny and Constant to watch him narrowly, and never to quit him while he continued about me. But this malignancy, with respect to me, extended no farther than to a small number of persons; or if it did, they concealed it with great care. I was received with the most distinguishing marks of respect in every place where I made any stay; and in those that I only passed through, they came to meet me, harangued me, and escorted me with ceremony on my way. The ecclesiastics seemed most eager to shew me respect; and I never heard the least expression that suggested a doubt of my religion: the inhabitants of Poitiers, who have the reputation of being naturally rude and unsociable, gave me, by their polite and respectful behaviour, a very different notion of their character.

I WAS still more surpris'd at the conduct of the Rochellers: this imperious city, that usually makes it her boast to have only the king himself for governor, and under him that haughty and important mayor, who is generally elected out of three persons proposed by them to his majesty, might have laid great stress upon those mighty prerogatives with so much the more reason, in respect to me, as their city was not properly within the limits of my government; however, they gave me as honourable a reception as they could have done to a governor chosen by themselves. I entered the city with a train of twelve hundred horse: such an escort gave me the less room to be apprehensive of those attempts his majesty warned me to be careful of; the Rochellers opened their gates to this train, without any distinction of persons
or

or religions; they were all lodged within the walls, and most of them in the houses of the citizens. At a public dinner, which was given on my account, and to which I was invited with great ceremony, they drank the king's health, and said, that, if his majesty had done them the honour to present himself before their gates, though followed by thirty thousand men, they would have opened them to him; and that, if their gates were not wide enough to admit them, they would have thrown down three hundred feet of their walls. I saw nothing but respect and submission, and heard nothing but praises of this prince; they likewise assured me, with the most flattering encomiums, that if I had brought a train much larger with me, they would have acted in the same manner.

THE dinner I have mentioned consisted of seventeen tables, the least of which had sixteen covers; and the next day they gave me a collation as magnificent as the dinner had been; they added to it, the representation of a naval fight between Correilles, and Chef-de-Baye, in which twenty French vessels attacked a like number of Spanish vessels. The vanquished Spaniards were brought bound hand and foot, before a picture of the king, exposed to public view; and they were presented to me as to his lieutenant-general: nothing was wanting to render this shew complete; dresses, arms, pavilions, and escutcheons, all were chosen with the utmost propriety. I repaid this good reception, by granting the Rochellers, in the name of the king, whose eulogium I pronounced publicly, the deliverance of their prisoners: excepting these, and the sieur de Luffan, I punished severely all that had infringed the treaties of commerce. His majesty was satisfied with having obliged the city of Rochelle to ask him for this favour, which he well knew how to make them pay for. At Poitiers, I learned some circumstances which persuaded me, the count of Auvergne was much more culpable than I had hitherto believed.

THE king had allowed me so little time to regulate the affairs of this province, that I was obliged to defer visiting the Upper and Lower Poitou till another opportunity. I could only obtain permission from his majesty to go to Saint-John d'Angely, and to Brougaye, by representing to him the necessity there was for undertaking this journey to undeceive the people of that district, who suspected that the king had an intention to deprive them of their salt-pits. I set out from Rochelle, to go to these two places, and was received by messieurs de Rohan and de Saint-Luc still better than I expected. I used my utmost endeavours to recal Rohan to his duty and allegiance; I mentioned his intrigues in England, and exhorted him to recal Durand from thence: he appeared greatly astonished at this discourse, complained of the calumnies his enemies spread abroad of him; disavowed the agency of Durand; and, to convince me of his sincerity, acknowledged circumstances unasked, as the horse presented by him to king James, but assured me, he had obtained his majesty's permission for it, which he could easily bring to his remembrance.

FROM Saint-Jean I resumed the road to Paris through Thouars, where I was desirous of having a conference with the duke de La-Tremouille. I did not expect so polite a reception from him as I really received, sensible that he must be greatly mortified to see me possess a government, and receive honours, to which he had aspired with such extreme ardency as to solicit them publicly. Our conversation often turned on the many causes of complaint the protestant party had given the king; and even in the presence of Parabere, Saint-Germain-de-Clan, Besses, La-Valliere, Constant, d'Aubigné (these were hardly ever absent) Preaux La-Ferriere, and La-Sausfay; they all exclaimed loudly upon the injustice that had been done them by the king, protesting their fidelity and attachment to his majesty; and the
better

better to impose upon me, accompanied their assurances with so much civility to myself, and such gross flatteries that they fell into the other extreme of a too glaring affectation.

IN the midst of all this art and disguise, I did not cease to penetrate into their designs, by turning the discourse, in their presence, upon the state of affairs in Spain and England. They betrayed themselves then in spite of their endeavours to the contrary; and it was no longer possible for me to doubt, that all this little court of people attached to the dukes of Rohan and de La-Tremouille were, in reality, such as they were represented to his majesty: but what I discovered at the same time, and the intelligence which the post I possessed in that province, afforded me an opportunity of procuring, gave me, in the sequel, the utmost certainty that these gentlemen had no power with the rest of the protestant party; they were no longer, as formerly, those absolute leaders that, with a single word, drew all their suffrages; but, on the contrary, they were shunned as men infected with the plague, when they came to deliberate in the assemblies. This they had brought upon themselves by their own imprudence, in putting the party upon such dangerous and ridiculous enterprises, as had at length undeceived the most credulous amongst them; and the highest idea that could be now given of them was, that they formed a party in the midst of the party itself, and only supported themselves by a vain semblance of an authority, of which they but possessed the shadow.

I DID not neglect to make all the advantage I could of such favourable dispositions, and entirely undeceived the people with regard to the injurious reports that had been spread among them concerning the salt-pits, the excise, and other monopolies, which had been made use of to excite them to sedition. They now began to have a more perfect knowledge of their king; their notions of his tyranny and their

slavery were wholly effaced. I made the protestants comprehend how groundless their suspicions were, that Henry had ever designed to exclude them from any of the offices and dignities in the state, since it had always been his chief maxim to keep the balance even between the two religions ; I convinced them likewise, how much they had been blinded by prejudice, with respect to Clement the eighth, who was so far from endeavouring to extirpate the protestants, that he had, on all occasions, strongly opposed making war against them.

My actions completed the work these assurances had begun ; I distributed pensions among those of the party who had advised peace, and served the king faithfully ; and to convince them absolutely that they were not deceived, with regard to the equitable intentions of their sovereign, I shewed them the paper that contained all the reformations he proposed to make in the state, the same that I have formerly mentioned, with which they were fully satisfied. By these means I so weakened the duke de La-Tremouille's party, that he could never afterwards add to it six persons of any consequence. The duke of Bouillon was so greatly affected with the knowledge that he had lost all the remaining interest he had hitherto preserved in this district of France, that he determined to pass the rest of his days in that kind of exile which kept him quiet in the court of the elector Palatine in spite of himself. Saint-Germain, who was not unacquainted with any of the duke's secrets, wrote an account of this design to La-Saussaye, of whom he thought himself absolutely secure ; but La-Saussaye gave me Saint-Germain's letter, which I shewed to his majesty.

HAVING thus performed all that the present conjuncture, and the shortness of the time permitted me, I obeyed the king's repeated commands (which every one of his letters brought me) to return as soon as possible, and followed in a few days my last letter,

letter, which I wrote to his majesty from Thouars on the 16th of July. Before I went away I visited the duke de La-Tremouille for the last time; he was indisposed when I came to Thouars, and I left him at the point of death when I set out from thence; he died † without being prevailed upon to promise that he would come to court, and his death deprived the malecontents of one leader.

I ARRIVED at Paris on the 22d of July, where I found a billet from his majesty, dated the 18th, in which he desired me to send into every part of Normandy, Brittany, and Poitou, whither I had a design to go myself, two persons on whose fidelity and understanding I could rely, and to come myself to him at Monceaux, where he waited for me, having given over drinking the waters. I was sensible, by the kind and obliging reception this prince gave me, that I had been fortunate enough to give him satisfaction § as to the business that had occasioned my journey; and I now related to him, during the course of three days, all that I had omitted in my letters to him or to Villeroi.

IT has been reported, that the duke of Epernon behaved at that time in such a manner in Guienne, as to give his majesty more cause than ever to suspect him; that I also distrusted his fidelity, and on this occasion did him all the bad offices that could proceed from a mortal enemy. This report, with regard to myself, I here declare to be absolutely false; and I believe what was said to the disadvantage of d'Epernon to be so likewise; and that the unfavourable sentiments they attributed to his majesty of this duke, has no better foundation. One would imagine, that the opinion Henry entertained of him was suf-

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ficiently

† Claude de La-Tremouille, duke of Thouars, died of the gout, being only thirty-four years of age. See his eulogium in de Thou, book xxxi. and Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. p. 663.

§ De Thou says, this journey of M. de Rosny freed Henry IV. from great disquiet, book xxxi.

ficiently clear, by the letter this prince wrote to the duke on the subject of the dispute between Du-Plessis and the bishop of Evreux, in which he treated him as a friend, a title he never gave to those whom he did not think worthy of it. And here I may add a circumstance of which I am absolutely certain, and speak from my own knowledge.

HIS majesty, after the time here meant, granted d'Epernon a thousand things unasked, and often pressed me to visit him, and give him other instances of kindness, even before I had received the same compliment from him. If Henry heard any thing to the duke's disadvantage during his stay in Guienne, it is what I am wholly ignorant of; this only I know, that his majesty was easily freed from any remains of suspicion, after the letters that d'Epernon sent to him and to me by Perronne, in which there were such evident marks of sincerity and conscious innocence confirmed by the offer he made to attend his majesty upon the very first order he should receive, that he might put his person in his power, to answer for the loyalty of his intentions, that there was nothing left to reply. No one is ignorant of what passed between the king and the duke of Epernon during the life, and even after the death of Henry III. and that this prince had discovered some resentment towards him; but this was at an end; forgetfulness of injuries is a virtue very rare among princes, and is thought yet rarer than it is. Sufficient regard has not been shewn to the proofs which Henry has given more than once of that true greatness of mind which is capable of pardoning; and all that he did for the duke of Epernon may be considered as an instance of his clemency.

FOR myself, I was so far from being an enemy to d'Epernon, at the time I have been speaking of, that I can bring a thousand instances to prove we had been in a perfect good intelligence with each other: but it is fit I should be believed upon my bare word,

as I have hitherto shewn myself equally incapable of disguising my sentiments, whether of friendship, or hatred, or accusing the innocent, or justifying a traitor. D'Epernon had the misfortune to fall off his horse in Guienne, by which he broke his thigh and his thumb, and bruised himself likewise in the shoulder and elbow; which obliged him to keep his bed forty days, and lie during all that time upon his back. I wrote to him a letter of condolance upon this accident; and he thanked me with the same affection which he usually expressed in all his letters, for he then treated me as a friend; and I was likewise his confidant in all that regarded the king†. Another of my friends, but one who had never been otherwise, from whom I this year received letters equally polite, friendly, and unreserved, was Bellegarde; they are dated from Dijon; he was then in his government of Burgundy. But it is time to return to the count of Auvergne.

It now depended wholly upon the king to deprive this rebellious subject of all means of conspiring against the state: the unseasonable clemency with which he had been treated by his majesty, at the time that marechal Biron suffered a just sentence, was the cause of his relapse; as the tenderness his majesty had shewn for this whole family, on account of the marchioness de Verneuil, had first encouraged him in his revolt. It would not probably have been difficult to find such another opportunity as his majesty had suffered to escape him, when he received notice of the new intrigues which the count was carrying on in Spain, and that fuller discoveries concerning those intrigues might be expected from the seizure of Morgan*, his chief agent, who was just then arrested; but the king was contented with suffering D'Escures to

† See the originals of these letters in the old Memoirs; they seem a little to contradict one another in what relates to the duke of Epernon.

* Thomas Morgan, an Englishman. See De Thou, *ibid.*

to go, by my orders, to Auvergne, where the count then was, to discover the plot, and by gentle methods persuade him to come and throw himself at his majesty's feet.

IN effect, d'Auvergne was convinced that this was the wisest and the only part he had to take; the seizing of Morgan had wholly disconcerted him, and the measures he had taken had been too imprudent to leave him a hope that his designs could be concealed, or that they were in sufficient forwardness to enable him to throw off the mask; he feared that by flying he should expose the count and countess d'Entragues and his whole family, to a shameful treatment; he therefore yielded to d'Escures's arguments, and promised to go with him to court, and reveal to the king his closet secrets, and even to shew a letter from his sister, which he said was of the utmost consequence, provided that his majesty would grant him the pardon he had promised. The original of this letter from the marchioness de Verneuil was not produced till the following year, and it was not very certain what credit should be given to it, because the brother and sister sometimes appeared to be on friendly terms, and often in such high disgust that they could not bear each other's sight. That which appears most worthy of observation in this letter is, that in it she exhorts her brother to a secure retreat in a foreign country, and appears herself determined to do the like.

THAT the count d'Auvergne was not very sincere in the promise he made d'Escures, appears by his sending Yverné to Spain, at the very time that he set out himself for Paris. The bishop of Montpellier discovered this intrigue, and sent the king notice of it: but this prince was willing a second time to listen to his fine promises. He only ordered, that the parliament should finish Morgan's trial, that the crime being made public might give more weight to the pardon he was resolved to grant to the whole family

mily of Auvergne, which was comprehended in it. All that this prince gained by the prosecution was, to get that famous promise † of marriage he had in vain solicited his mistress to return, restored to him by d'Entragues; which was done in the presence of the count of Soissons, the duke of Montpensier, the chancellor, Sillery, La-Guêlle, Jeannin, Gevres, and Villeroi, that this restitution might not be afterwards eluded by any restriction or disavowal; and an act was made, importing, that this was the true and only writing given by his majesty on that subject; and the declaration of d'Entragues confirming this, was joined to the paper.

THIS conduct of Henry was not calculated to make the count of Auvergne less rash and enterprising; and, in effect, he renewed his former intrigues almost before his majesty's eyes: his whole care was to deceive the king, who for a long time was imposed upon by his appearances of sincerity: but at length the whole mystery was discovered by some letters written and received by d'Auvergne, which fell into the hands of Lomenie, and by him carried immediately to the king. This prince was then convinced of the full extent of his crimes; but this conviction came too late, for the count, either by his own penetration, or that he received notice of what had happened, had time to leave the court before the resolution that had been taken to arrest him could be executed, determined within himself never to return to it again after the danger he had so lately escaped, and even to leave France altogether, upon the least information that any thing was resolved on against him.

THE king acquainted me with the perplexity he was in through his own fault. D'Escures was sent again

† Henry IV. in order to get back this promise, was obliged to pay the marchioness de Verneuil twenty thousand crowns down, and to promise the baton of a marechal of France to the count of Entragues, who had never been in any military action. De Thou, book cxxxii.

again to Auvergne : he went a third time, but to no purpose : the methods that had formerly succeeded were now ineffectual. D'Auvergne always knew how to elude his return to court, to which he was earnestly pressed, but with such appearance of indifference and unconcern, that it was not possible to draw from his refusal a conviction of his crime, as it was expected they should do. He made the fairest promises imaginable, and always appeared disposed to set out. There was a necessity at length for making use of the only method yet unattempted, which was to secure his person ; but this did not seem easy to effect.

I CAST my eyes upon a man who seemed to me likely enough to succeed in such an attempt, and this was the treasurer Murat ; his personal hatred to the count d'Auvergne, his knowledge of the country, the convenience he could have of staying a long time upon the spot without giving cause of suspicion, his resolution in any arduous enterprise, and his zeal for the service of his majesty, all promised a happy and honourable end of this commission. I proposed him to the king when his majesty mentioned the affair to me, and upon his approbation I sent for Murat ; to whom at first I acted with all the reserve and precaution that a matter of such consequence required. When I found that instead of bringing arguments for being dispensed with for such a service, he himself prevented my offers, I explained myself clearly, and perceived that the proposal was far from being displeasing to him : he only required a commission for it under the great seal, which was granted, and kept very secret. As we had not yet lost all hope that d'Escures might be able to draw the count to court, and in that case Murat would have nothing to do, when I gave him his instructions I enjoined him not to act but in concert with d'Escures, and to conceal from every one the part that was to be given him in this business, if he found there was no longer any occasion for him.

D'ESCURES

D'ESCURES set out for Auvergne on the 17th of August (this was the third or fourth time of his going) and Murat followed him a few days afterwards, provided with blank letters for the cities and officers des presideaux, which were to be filled up at the places themselves. In the mean time some letters from d'Auvergne came to hand, in which he expressed so much fear and shame, that the king rightly judged he would never be prevailed on to appear at court, and therefore thought it best for d'Escures, to avoid pressing him to take that step, lest he should increase his apprehensions. Murat had now orders to act singly; and d'Escures, on his side, to use his utmost endeavours to procure certain intelligence of all d'Auvergne's practices in Spain, and, if possible, to intercept the treaty which it was thought he had already made with the council of Madrid. All this d'Escures executed with such dexterity, that he prevented the count, artful and penetrating as he was, from suspecting any of those measures the council was now pursuing.

A LITTLE affair between a brother of Murat's and the count of Auvergne gave this trusty agent a pretence for going to the count; which having settled between them, the count, of himself, entered into a conversation with him concerning the state of his affairs at court, which gave Murat an opportunity of seeming to regulate the advice he offered him upon what he himself had said. D'Auvergne founded violent suspicions upon the insinuations that were given him, that the king expected he should shew himself at court; and upon d'Escures's endeavouring to persuade him to go, yet pretended not to know that it was the king's desire, he therefore assured Murat that he would not go; and that rather than expose himself to the fury of his enemies, he would submit himself to a voluntary exile in a foreign country: he mentioned the fate of marechal Biron, which seemed to give him great apprehensions;

and said, that having formerly had the misfortune to offend his king, he could not resolve to appear before him till he had effaced the memory of his fault by new services, and till the pardon his majesty had granted him was confirmed. At length he gave Murat to understand, that his reason for not being willing to trust the intentions of the court, arose from the informations he had received of the danger he was threatened with if he appeared there, this notice having been sent to him from some of the courtiers themselves, persons of the first distinction, who were well acquainted with the affair, and deserved to be relied on.

MURAT finding himself thus made a confidant of, answered with great seeming simplicity, that since the count had confessed his error to the king, he saw no inconvenience attending his return to court ; that the pardon he had obtained made a wide difference between his case and that of marechal Biron ; and that nothing but a relapse into the same error could authorize his scruples, since Henry had never yet broke his word with any one ; therefore his best counsellors would be his own conscience. D'Escures likewise laboured with equal solicitude to reassure him with regard to the king, and to give him a distrust of those persons that sent him the informations he had mentioned.

To all this the count only replied, that when his life was in question he would not run any hazard ; that neither the king, the queen, or the princes of the blood, were his friends, and the master of the horse was his mortal enemy ; that the silence of his friends on this occasion was one proof of his ruin being determined ; that no one solicited for him to the king ; that he now never received any letters from Villeroi, Sillery, or me, because we were not willing to reproach ourselves with having been the instruments of his fate ; that the constable no longer corresponded with him, for fear of rendering himself

self suspected : but it was with the marchioness de Verneuil he appeared to be the most discontented ; he knew his sister, he said, to make her peace with the king at his expence, was capable of charging him with false crimes, if she could not with real ones ; and concluded with new protestations that nothing should draw him from his retreat. As he did not suspect that D'Escures and Murat were come with an intention to persuade him to go, he told them, that he supposed Vitry would arrive in a few days, and expect to gain him with fair words, but that he would lose his labour.

THE retreat he was resolved not to be prevailed upon to leave was Vic, a poor house, without any conveniencies, but situated in the midst of a wood, where d'Auvergne passed whole days, under pretence of hunting. Although there had been no other proofs of his crimes, his fears, his continual alarms, the agitation of his thoughts, the wildness of his look and air, and the disorder of his whole person, would have been a sufficient testimony against him : nothing could be more miserable than the life he now led ; and the terror and anxiety that preyed upon his heart, revenged, by anticipating his punishment, both the king and the state. He was afraid to stay in his house, yet durst not trust himself at any considerable distance from it ; he was never seen in the neighbouring towns ; he had left off visiting his friends, nor durst even confide in his mistress, a certain lady, named madame de Chateau-gay ; he no longer visited her at her house, but when he chose to see her, they met in an obscure village, or in the midst of the fields, always in the night, and never twice together in the same place. His servants, whom he posted on eminences in the neighbouring places, were ordered to give him notice when they saw any one appear, by blowing a horn ; and sometimes he made use of dogs for his guard.

WITH these precautions he defied all his enemies,
and

and insolently, as well as imprudently, boasted, that he should always be able to deceive and escape them; nevertheless, his resolutions were always varying, he never continued two moments in the same mind. And this man, so wise, so sagacious, penetrated so little into the intentions of those that came to destroy him, that he made them his friends, took them for his counsellors; and was many times upon the point of abandoning himself to their discretion. But prudence is a quality seldom found with a bad conscience; had d'Auvergne possessed ever so little of it, he would have known, that there was no safety for him but in an immediate flight to Spain; and this, probably, was the only scheme that never entered into his head. At the very moment that, to d'Escures and Murat he appeared determined not to expose himself to the danger of going to court, he talked to them in a strain quite different. He once sent to them to come and meet him at a place three leagues distant from his own house; though this summons gave them at first some uneasiness, not knowing what his intentions might be, yet they went and found that he had sent for them only to tell them that he was now resolved to go and present himself to the king. His majesty, to whom they sent immediate notice of this resolution, and who gave the more credit to it, on account of a false report that was added to it, wrote to me on the 19th of November, that d'Auvergne was at Moret, ready to set out for Paris. In this it was not d'Escures and Murat that were deceived by the count, but the count by his own inconstancy; for he was the first to retain them with him, when they appeared willing to go back, and to refer them for his last answer to the return of Fougeu, from whom he expected to draw a great deal of intelligence; to which the two agents seemed to consent, purely through complaisance to him.

THIS whole account I take from Murat's letters.

I received

I received at the same time, a letter from the count d'Auvergne himself. He complained to the two agents, that he never had any answer to four letters, which, he said, he had wrote to me. I received, indeed, four from him, but all together ; and the writing so like, although of different dates, that I perceived immediately what credit I ought to give to them. It was probable, that d'Auvergne did not think of me at first, or believed that it would not be proper to make any application to me ; but that afterwards, supposing this method was likely enough to make his peace, for he often mentioned me to the two agents, he had recourse to it, with the well known artifice of antedating his letters, to prove to me that this had always been his design.

If the count had any intention to draw a promise from me, which, on this occasion, he might make use of as a security, he deceived himself greatly : I sent him an answer indeed, but as if I had nothing more nor better to say to him, than what I had said before to marechal Biron in the same circumstances, I treated him like a state criminal, without augmenting his suspicions ; the letter I wrote to Auvergne, in a word, was but a copy of that which I had written to marechal Biron ; and he could not be ignorant that it was so, since I acknowledged it plainly. It is by this counterstroke, which is doubtless of new invention, that I gave d'Auvergne to understand, he ought neither to attribute to the king, such sentiments of him as he really did not entertain, neglect the advice I had often given him, relating to his conduct, nor lay a stress upon actions and reports, that had no foundation but in his own unquiet conscience. This was all that I wrote to Auvergne ; and after his conviction, this proceeding appeared so candid, and so free from all artifice, that he praised it greatly.

D'ESCURES and Murat at length found the opportunity they had so long waited for. M. de Vendome's

dome's regiment of light horse being to be reviewed, they imparted a scheme that they had concerted to D'Erre, who commanded it; and the general officers of this body being all ready, it was effected in the following manner: D'Erre went to the count, and told him, that he being colonel-general of the light cavalry, he ought certainly to be present at this review. D'Auvergne apprehended no danger, because he was not only mounted upon a horse, which, as he said, outstripped the wind; and, indeed, he was accustomed to make him gallop ten leagues without intermission; but he was resolved not to enter any narrow place, or to dismount during the whole time. Accordingly he came to the review. Nerestan advanced to salute him, followed only by four footmen, in appearance; but, in reality, four stout and resolute soldiers, whom they had disguised in liveries. At the instant that Nerestan was paying his compliments, two of these soldiers seized the reins of the count's bridle, and the two others, at the same time, laid hold of his legs and pulled him off his horse, throwing themselves upon him so suddenly, that he had neither time to lay his hand upon his pistols, nor draw his sword, and still less to fly. He was immediately conducted, under a good guard, to Paris, and shut up in the Bastile.†

D'ENTRAGUES

† “The countess of Auvergne, as meek and humble as the marchioness was haughty and imperious, having thrown herself at the king's feet, with all the marks of the deepest sorrow, to beg his pardon for her husband, his majesty, with great courtesy, raised her up and saluted her, saying thus to her, I feel the utmost compassion for your misery and your tears, but if I should grant your request, this my wife (taking the queen by the hand) must be declared a whore, my son a bastard, and my kingdom fall a prey to others. The same lady having obtained the king's permission to send one to see her husband, and to enquire of him what she could do for his service, he sent her word, only to let him have some good cheese and mustard, and not trouble herself about any thing further.” *Journal of the reign of Henry IV.*

“The count of Auvergne,” says Amelot in the place before quoted, “had so entire a dependance on the fidelity of Anthony (that is, the paymaster Chevillard) that, in three examinations he underwent, he said, with as much intrepidity as if he had been entirely
“innocent,

D'ENTRAGUES was arrested at the same time that the count d'Auvergne was; and the marchioness de Verneuil was, in some sort, associated with the two criminals, since the king consented that she should be confined in her house †, where she continued under the guard of the chevalier Du Guet. It was this association that saved the lives of the father-in-law and the brother. At first they had not dared to hope for so much lenity; nor could the public expect it, after such frequent relapses, especially as they found that preparations were making for trying them with the utmost severity. The count of Auvergne gave the king an exact account of his correspondencies, as well within as without the kingdom; and he was obliged to give up that promise of association made by him and the dukes of Bouillon and Biron, which has been mentioned before, and till now could never be forced from him.

MESSAGES at the same time began to be carried between Henry and the marchioness de Verneuil, not on the same account; for I am persuaded, the reader does not expect to see any great severity used towards her. The king could not resolve to leave her a single moment in doubt of her pardon; with difficulty it was that he endeavoured to save appearances, by sending different messengers to tell the marchioness, that she should purchase this pardon, by an absolute submission to such conditions as he should prescribe to her. La-Varenne, Sigogne, the whole court was employed in these messages, which, by the manner in which they were delivered, were indeed the real advances of a lover, who feared, notwithstanding his anger, that he should raise too strong an obstacle to his reconciliation with the object.

“innocent, in this respect, Gentlemen, shew me one single line of my writing, to prove I ever entered into any treaty with the king of Spain, or his ambassador, and I will write the sentence of my death under it, and condemn myself to be quartered alive.”

† In the house of one Audicourt, in Saint Paul's-street.

ject of his passion. The marchioness discovered and well knew how to make her advantage of this weakness. I likewise served Henry for an interpreter upon this occasion, although I plainly perceived that he would not come off with honour: but he insisted upon my interposing, and I obeyed him, with an intention to make the conclusion of this affair as honourable as I could for him.

THE first order his majesty gave me, was to go to the marchioness de Verneuil, and hear what she had to say concerning the crimes she was accused of, to draw from her a confession of them, and make her sensible of her ingratitude. I cannot say that my commission went farther, unless one takes in several bitter reproaches, and some advice which proved to be useless, concerning the manner in which she ought to have behaved to a prince who had laid such great obligations upon her. I did not see her the first time I went to her house; she ordered me to be told, that a defluxion which was fallen upon her face, hindered her from receiving any visits. I sent a gentleman to her, to know at what hour I should attend her; but, before my messenger was returned, a servant, whom she had sent in the mean time, came to tell me, that she would see me at two o'clock in the afternoon.

I FOUND a woman whom disgrace could not humble, whose insolence detection could not abate †, and who, instead of endeavouring to excuse herself, or to implore a pardon, talked in the style of one
who

† She said, "She gave herself no concern about dying, but that, on the contrary, she wished for death; but, if the king should put her to death, it would always be said he had killed his wife, for that she was his queen before the other: upon the whole, she only desired three things of his majesty; a pardon for her father, a rope for her brother, and justice for herself." Journal of the reign of Henry IV. "On searching her cabinets," adds the same author, "and making an inventory of all her papers, many love letters (the implements of her trade) were found amongst them, some of which were from Sigogne, which occasioned his disgrace."

who had suffered wrongs, not given them, and pretended to demand conditions for herself; she complained, she raved against the king, made new demands, wrapped herself up in reserve, and affected the devotee. I was not a person on whom these arts were to be played off; I neither flattered her pride, nor soothed her resentment; I began with the greatest of her crimes, and reproached her with having joined herself to the enemies of the state; I told her that she would have reason to think herself happy, if her punishment was confined to a permission to banish herself out of the kingdom, to end her days in any country but Spain; and that this favour would not be granted her, till she had submitted to be examined as a criminal, and asked the king's pardon for her disobedience.

I PROCEEDED, in the next place, to her insolent behaviour towards the queen. I made her sensible, that to offend, as she had done, a princess, who was her queen and mistress †, by a thousand injurious reflections, was to attack the king himself, and expose her own person to a severe punishment: I reproached her with her ridiculous affectation of equalling herself to the queen, and her children to the children of France; with her haughty and insolent behaviour; and especially her malignity in sowing discord between their majesties: and added, that she would be compelled to throw herself at the queen's feet, to implore her pardon for all the faults she had committed against her.

NOR did I spare her upon her pretended devotion to which she had recourse, not scrupling, at the same time, to violate her principal duties to the king, the queen, and the state. I told her plainly, that this shew of regularity was mere grimace and affectation, which I proved by entering into a detail of her whole life, to let her see that I was well informed of her amours. I even mentioned them all particularly,

† “ She sometimes said, that, if justice were done her, she ought to “ be in the place of that clumsy tradeswoman.” *Prefixe.*

particularly, to deprive her of her usual excuse, that they existed only in the jealous imagination of the king; and thence drew a new subject of shame and confusion for her, with regard to this prince, whom she so grossly abused. I shewed her what she would have done if her inclination for a religious life had been a real return towards God; and assured her, that his majesty would never have opposed her retreat into a convent, if he had perceived in her behaviour any signs of true devotion.

I GAVE her, at length, all sorts of good counsels, which indeed she did not desire, nor was disposed to follow. She ought, at least, to have appeared willing to do so; but she contented herself with answering coldly, after hearing me the whole time with great indifference, that she thanked me, and would consider of what I had said. When I asked her what causes of complaint she had received that had thus carried her to violate her duty to the king, her answer was, that if the king had asked her this question, he would have been to blame, since he knew them better than any other person; and if it came from myself, I was no less so, since I had no means of satisfying it.

CONTINUING still to question her, I asked what it was that she requested of his majesty? She answered, that altho' she knew well the king's inclinations would not be conformable to hers on this article, yet she still persisted to demand permission for herself, her father, mother, brother, and her children, to go and settle themselves somewhere out of France: and added, in naming her brother, that he suffered only on account of his affection for her. I could hardly persuade myself this resolution was sincere. I contrived it so as to make her repeat it several times, and she never varied from it in the smallest article. It was natural enough that the rage and grief she conceived at the imprisonment of her family, and the treatment she herself suffered, should make her form such a design; and

and the conditions she annexed to it absolutely convinced me that she was in earnest. Upon my obliging her to explain herself farther as to this intended retreat out of the kingdom, she said, that she would not go among foreigners to starve; the queen should not have the satisfaction to know that she dragged on a miserable life in poverty and exile. She therefore insisted that an estate in lands should be given her of a hundred thousand francs at least, which was but a trifle, after all she might have lawfully expected from the king. These words, which she pronounced with great bitterness, doubtless related to the promise of marriage given her by Henry, the loss of which had affected her strongly: and she endeavoured, but in vain, to conceal her rage from me.

I HAD never formed to myself any great expectations from an interview with the marchioness of Verneuil; but I could not help laying some stress upon her repeated request, to be allowed to settle out of the kingdom; the more I reflected on it, the more I was convinced that it was the only method by which this whole intrigue † could be unravelled; and all which now remained to be done, was to prevail upon Henry to consent to this proposal of the marchioness, by which

† M. de Sully had made Henry IV. lose a favourable opportunity of getting handsomely rid of his mistress, if we may believe Bassompierre's Memoirs, where the thing is thus related, vol. I. p. 90. "The king asked, whether he should give madame de Verneuil any thing to enable her to marry a prince, who, she told him, was willing to have her, provided she had a hundred thousand crowns more than she was then worth. M. de Bellièvre said, Sire, I am of opinion it will be well worth your while to give that lady a hundred thousand crowns, if she can find a good match by that means; to which M. de Sully answering, that it was an easy matter to talk of a hundred thousand crowns, but very difficult to find out the means to raise them, the chancellor, without taking notice of what he said, went on; Sire, I am of opinion, that you should take two hundred thousand good crowns, and if that is not sufficient, three hundred thousand, or, in short, any other sum that may be sufficient, and give them to this fair lady to get her a husband; this, I repeat it, is my advice. The king repented afterwards, that he did not follow this advice." But supposing this pretended match to be something more than a mere artifice of the lady's, I believe it miscarried through Henry IVth's fault rather than the duke of Sully's.

which he would remove from his eyes an object that drew him into continual weaknesses, and purchase the future peace and tranquillity of his family. Money was all that was required of him to procure these advantages : ought the effort then to be so painful ? I was determined to use my utmost endeavours to accomplish it.

I WENT to his majesty ; and, after giving him an account of the success of my commission, proposed to him the expedient that presented itself to free him from all his uneasiness. I was not surprised to find, that it did not appear so happy to him as it had done to me ; but I was armed with strong arguments of every kind to support it : what did I not say to this prince ? what persuasion did I not use ? Policy, interest, quiet, reason, each of these motives I dwelt upon, and exhausted all ; I brought to his remembrance his own unfavourable opinion of this woman and her family ; I repeated circumstances so much the more likely to re-ignite his anger, as they had already often produced that effect ; the harsh epithets he had given the countess d'Entragues and her daughters ; the intrigues so well known and so incontestable, that had given cause for them ; the sum of money granted by his order, to pay for an imaginary sacrifice in the first favour, which he confessed, at the same time, was no longer in the power of his mistress to bestow ; the untimely birth of the infant by a storm, and other anecdotes of the same nature, capable of disgusting a delicate lover. Never before had I made a discourse so pathetic, nor, in my own opinion, so convincing : all my tenderness for the honour of this prince was alarmed by the shame I saw ready to overwhelm him ; I entreated, I implored, every power of persuasion I exerted ; I was not discouraged by an ineffectual attempt : again I returned to the charge ; my zeal became persecution ; and sometimes carried me out of myself, as it did in a conversation we had in the garden, belonging to the
Concier-

Conciergerie at Fontainebleau, where we spoke so loud, as to be heard by Bastien and Brunault.

NOTHING was ever more singular or incomprehensible; a prince, whose great qualities might serve as a model for other monarchs to form themselves upon, reduces us to the necessity of either throwing a veil over one part of that heroic mind, or of confessing that it dishonours the other. I take, without hesitation, this last path, while I lament the force of human frailty, for I hold myself under an obligation to do it; and should think I had laboured but by halves for the instruction of mankind in general, and of princes in particular, if I threw any part of this picture into shade. I therefore open to them the recesses of that heart, where so much greatness was blended with so much weakness, that, by the contrast, each may become more conspicuous; and that they may be upon their guard against that dangerous passion, so capable of inspiring shameful affections, and of tainting their souls with vices abhorred before; mean artifices, cowardly fears, jealousy, rancour, rage, and even perjury and lies. Yes, I repeat it again, perjury and lies; Henry, that man on every other occasion so upright, so open, and so sincere, became acquainted with all these vices, when he abandoned himself to love. I often found that he deceived me by false confidences, when he was under no obligation to enter into true ones; that he feigned returns to reason, and resolutions which his heart rejected; in a word, that he pretended to be ashamed of his fetters, when he secretly vowed never to break them.

It was but too true, that he was infected with that jealousy his mistress publicly reproached him with. This was easy to be perceived by the efforts he made to supplant rivals, whom he was too weak to despise, and too timid to punish. “Aut Cæsar, “aut nihil,” says he, in one of his letters to me. What a strange contrast of caprices and extravagances!

ces! He was convinced that the marchioness of Verneuil had recourse to the affectation of devotion to conceal her libertinism; and this conviction pierced his heart with a thousand cruel and insupportable wounds; but he felt, no less forcibly, the delight which the desire of triumphing over a real devotion gives to a depraved heart.

ONE of those caprices which most surprised me, and persuaded me that it was absolutely impossible to cure this unhappy prince, was, that at those very times when he appeared most cool and indifferent in all he said of his mistress, yet the letters he wrote to be shewn to her, expressed quite contrary sentiments. I have made the same observation of the marchioness, but with less surprise. It must be therefore, that these lovers, amidst the wildest transports of their anger, could not hinder themselves from still depending a little upon the latent tenderness of each other; and that their tenderness still subsisted without their perceiving it themselves: or that the king, ingenious in finding out methods to debase himself, had a long time before furnished his mistress with arms against him, which he would not oblige her to make use of, by driving her to extremities: or lastly, and this is the least unfavourable judgment that can be formed of this prince, that some private transactions had passed between them, which Henry, through regret or shame, could not resolve to impart to me, or to any one whatever.

I HAVE thrown together all that relates to the present subject, although part of the facts, as has been seen, such as the seizing of the count d'Auvergne, and the process carried on against his family, did not happen till towards the end of the year, that I might not be obliged to interrupt the narration so frequently †. I shall resume it at the beginning of the following

† I here subjoin an anecdote of Vittorio Siri's, relating to the amours of Henry IV. and the conspiracy of the count of Auvergne. This writer asserts, *Mem. second, vol. I. p. 297*, that one object of this

lowing year, that we may see the event, after I have given, in this, an account of some other matters very different from those I have been treating.

B O O K

this conspiracy was to seize the king's person, by laying an ambuscade for him, and then putting him to death ; and that d'Entragues, who had undertaken the execution of this project, intended to make use of the passion he had discovered the king to have newly conceived for his second daughter, who is represented as much handsomer than her sister, to draw him into the snare. He therefore sent his wife to fetch her away from Fontainebleau, making no question but the king would expose himself to any danger to come to see her at Malestherbes, which place is but three leagues distant from that palace : and truly, Henry immediately sent message after message to mademoiselle d'Entragues, by some of his courtiers disguised in the habit of peasants. Her answer to which was, that she was so closely watched, that there was not the least probability of her being able to see the king. At last he could not forbear going there in person, accompanied by marechal Bassompierre ; and not daring to go into the house for fear of being discovered, he was obliged to content himself with speaking to her at the window of a lower room : he wrote to her every day, and sent her verses of gallantry, which he got the best poets of the court to compose for him. At last they agreed to meet one another on a day appointed, at a certain place, in a meadow named by the king, where they might be at full liberty, and where he promised to come in disguise. D'Entragues seemed to be entirely ignorant of all this contrivance ; but either having mentioned to his daughter, or accidentally given her some reason to suspect his design, whether she really loved the king, or was apprehensive of the consequences, she broke off the appointment, and took other precautions against the danger to which Henry IV. was going to expose himself on her account. The king, wearied out by so many obstacles to his wishes, renewed his amour with the marchioness of Verneuil ; and, if we may believe Siri, often was exposed to the same dangers with her : one day in particular, as he was going in disguise from Fontainebleau to visit her at Verneuil, he so narrowly avoided falling into the hands of fifteen or sixteen of D'Entragues' relations, who were upon the watch for him in the fields, in order to assassinate him, that his escaping them may be considered as a particular instance of his good fortune. But, as these circumstances are not taken notice of in any memoirs of credit of those times, they seem to be only some of those strokes, with which a foreigner, on the authority of popular report, may think he has a right to enliven his subject.

Mademoiselle d'Entragues, of whom we have been speaking, seems to be her of Henry the IVth's mistresses, whom he has celebrated under the name of Lisa : and there are still some original pieces of poetry in being which he sent her ; amongst others a sonnet, of which I shall only repeat the four first verses :

B O O K XIX.

THE king, from the year 1602, looking out for a safe and convenient place where he might lay up his revenues, and the money which he set apart for the execution of his designs, fixed upon the Bastile, where he ordered chests to be made, and all other necessary conveniencies : for this article he was obliged to publish a regulation that might bring this new disposition of money into method, to prevent the confusion of different offices, and to hinder the receivers from being entangled with the chamber of accounts : the regulation was thus.

No money was to be carried to the Bastile but that which remained clear in the king's hands ; all charges, both ordinary and extraordinary, being first taken out of the revenues of the quarter in which they fell. The money was put into the hands of the treasurer in office, in the presence of the superintendant of the finances, and the comptroller-general, who at that time was John de Vienne ; the comptroller and I had each of us a key, and the treasurer had likewise a third ; when his year of office was over he received a certificate, signed by me and Vienne, of the sums that had been put in the
king's

*Je ne sçais par où commencer,
A louer votre grande beauté ;
Car il n'est rien, ni n'a été,
Que vous ne puissés effacer, &c.*

What tongue can tell, what words express,
The beauties of thy charming face :
Since all we've seen, and all we see,
Appears but as a foil to thee, &c.

What follows is in the same strain. Though there is a remark at the head of this sonnet, of the hand-writing of Henry IV. that it was made by Collin, a poet whose pen that prince often was pleased to make use of in works of this kind, these compositions are neither too correct, nor too poetical, to prevent our believing Henry himself might be the author of them, or at least in some degree concerned in them.

king's chests during his administration; this he put into the hands of his successor, and received from him an acquittance, which he was at liberty to shew as his discharge. The new treasurer had a right to know whether the certificate was exact, by inspecting the money contained in the treasury; upon this acquittance, the treasurer was authorised to draw up his account, which the chamber of accounts was obliged to pass without further examination.

HIS majesty was of opinion, that he ought early to publish his intentions and justify his conduct, both with respect to that accumulation of riches, and to the changes which had been already made, and which were still to be made in the finances. This was done in a council extraordinarily assembled for this purpose. The chancellor received from the king, and published, the list of those who were to compose the council, consisting of deputies of the sovereign courts of Paris, named by his majesty, the principal members of his council, and the chief administrators of justice, the revenues, and police. They met on the appointed day in the great closet of the Louvre, which is at the end of the guard-room, joining that of the king's chamber. When they were all assembled the king came in, and having ordered the whole assembly to be seated, he explained to them the motives of his conduct, in a discourse of which this is the substance: The civil wars, he told them, had reduced the revenues of the kingdom to such a state, that the annual income was scarce sufficient to clear the annual debt; and it was necessary therefore to improve the state of affairs, not only by enquiries and prosecutions, which had already so far benefited the nation, that it was cleared of part of the debt, but likewise to form new funds, that if there should either happen a war of consequence, or a troublesome minority, the king might neither be obliged to become bankrupt, nor to let public affairs sink into their former confusion, to support the ex-

pences which could not otherways be raised for this purpose ; that the best use was to be made of peaceable times, in which there was nothing of that kind to be dreaded ; that the means necessary to this, which however should be practised, without doing any mischief by precipitation, were the extinction of revenues granted by the state on several pretences, the reimbursement of offices, and the resumption of crown lands that had been given away.

His majesty was resolved to begin by examining the several grants of revenues ; and this was to be entered upon this very year : upon this head he let fall an expression to prepare their minds for the just severity of this procedure, by saying, that in the first place he should endeavour to make a rigorous discrimination between those that had really paid in money the principal of the arrears, which they were now receiving back from the king's revenues, and those who had made false claims upon the king. Henry added, that he reckoned so much upon the œconomy with which he intended to manage his revenues for the time to come, that he considered a design which required the amassing of large sums in the treasury, as by no means inconsistent with his purpose of easing the people by lessening the taxes, which he should always keep before his eyes. He exhorted the assembly to assist such just and upright intentions, and directed that they should twice a day, during eight days, deliberate maturely upon this proposition, and at the end of that time, should lay before him the result of their deliberation. He promised to follow any good scheme that should be offered, with the same sincerity which he had discovered in imparting his own ; and not to forget those who should give proofs on this occasion of their regard for the public.

ASSEMBLIES of this kind are, in my opinion, not to be condemned, even when they are only called to keep up a form which may be of no great use, since they

they serve, it may be said, no other purposes than to notify to the ministers, with less appearance of absolute power, the decrees of the prince already fixed in a secret council. This very assembly did not escape this reflection; the proposal of the king, tho' in itself unquestionably just and beneficial to the community, did not meet with the more approbation for its usefulness. I know not what will be said on this occasion by the assertors of the authority of the people, but I for my part am of opinion, and multitudes of instances like this sufficiently prove it to be just, that the designs of a good and wise king must not be at all times, and in every situation, the same with those of the people. The considerations which regulate popular opinions are seldom free from interest or passion, and never, or almost never, reach farther than the present. Those who judge best are themselves deceived by their own sense of interest, and seem, one by one, to have determined, though they will not confess, and perhaps do not know it, to procure their own satisfaction, without any care about the future.

THIS corruption arises from the desire natural to man, of present happiness; and unhappily it falls out in government as in policy, that there may be just reasons for deferring this completion of felicity for ten, twenty, or fifty years, and sometimes for a longer time. What means can be contrived to make this delay not offensive to the common people, and even to those who, though they have more knowledge, have the same passions with the vulgar. The case is otherwise with a wise and good king, or with a minister who represents him, and performs the acts of government. His inclinations, it is true, ought to be directed to the good of the subjects, but he always knows, that by catching too soon at happiness, it is almost always missed, and that there is no proportion between the real evils into which men are plunged by such mistaken precipitations, and the

vexations merely ideal and imaginary, which are complained of by those that think they want something. Happy is the public when it is governed by such principles of policy, as put it in the way to tranquillity ; all regard to short-lived and transitory advantage is cast aside in consideration of general good, and a wise king is not less a father of those subjects who shall live at the distance of three or four generations, than of those who live in his own time ; and considers the false tenderness which he might have shewn to his own time, at the expence of succeeding ages, as the partiality of a father in favour of some of his children, which is to end in the ruin of his family.

THE scheme, which Henry had formed for the interest of his kingdom, making it necessary that he should take all measures to increase his revenues, instead of making all those defalcations about which some who pretended great zeal for his service were continually talking to him, he required my private advice. The advance which I had made in the knowledge of the finances enabled me to discover some sources of large profit which would very little burthen the people ; of these I put nine into a memorial which I presented to his majesty as follows :

1. THE contractors who in late times managed the chief farms of the revenue, had, under pretence of several employments which they represented as necessary, misapplied the money which they had received, and made those sums pass in their accounts, to the ruin of the exchequer, which was represented as having received them, tho' not a penny came to it. By this article alone the crown was robbed of several millions. Of these accounts and details I therefore demanded an exact revisal, that I might lay hold on the contractors, who had not been able so completely to conceal themselves under the different names by which they carried on their robberies, but that I should be able to trace them.

2. THE

2. THE clergy of France had, by the mouths of the cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, accused Castille, their receiver-general, of having detained their money. The petition which had been presented to me, was accompanied with an account of the articles of accusation so positively and clearly stated, that nothing remained but that the king should reclaim the immense sum which the receiver appeared to have embezzled.

3. ALL the managers of the finances, and the people of business, particularly the treasurers of France, who had contributed much to the ruin of the finances, might be associated with Castille, by the erection of a chamber of justice; which must produce great advantages, if private intrigues and secret artifices could be kept out, by which these enquiries are often defeated.

4. THE abuses in the alienation of the king's lands were so gross, that many of those who had them in their hands held them by mere usurpation, without any title; and the others had them at a price so scandalously low, that they were repaid by the income of the very first year at six per cent. which was the interest then current. Of this I made his majesty fully sensible, who would not suffer these alienations to be exactly verified, that he might be drawn to consent to the resumption of all those possessions, or to some measures for obliging the possessors to pay the true price.

5. IN the other offices and employments there was the same corruption to be removed by the same means; the persons in possession were to be obliged to supply the deficiencies of their first payment in proportion to their salaries, or to give back their employments for the same sum for which they had purchased them.

6. THE debts due to the Swiss Cantons were, by a bad regulation, so far from being lessened, that they had been always encreasing. I had already made such an alteration in that part of our affairs,
that

that by the seasonable payment of one million, I had obtained an acquittance of eight; half of it reckoned to the principal and half to the arrears; and by taking the same method with the rest, the public was soon cleared of that debt.

7. As it was easy for the king to recover the possession of the crown lands that were alienated, so it was of great advantage to him to alienate I know not how many little parts of them, consisting in ground-rents, and particular claims, of which the expences for repairs, leases, and receiving, sometimes under pretence of prosecutions, sometimes of drawbacks, and improvements, were risen, by the connivance of the treasurers of the finances, who alone made their advantage of them, to such a prodigious height, that according to a calculation which I made, by reckoning ten years, one with another, a fifth part must have been added, before a single penny could come to the king. This was the chief source of plunder to the officers of the revenue. By alienating all these parts at the rate for money settled by the last edict, the king would be more than doubly a gainer, because he might buy with the money which this rate would bring in, those parts of this revenue which were mortgaged at ten per cent.

8. THE profit was yet greater with respect to the resumption of the royal revenues that had been alienated; some of the contractors had offered me to purchase them back to the king for forty millions, without obliging him to repay any part of the sum, provided he would let them take their choice of the part to be purchased, and allow them to enjoy them for a certain number of years, after which they would restore them to the crown clear of all debts and incumbrance. The king, instead of accepting their proposal, had nothing to do but to get himself the money which they would have gotten by the bargain.

9. FRANCE had in her hand the infallible means
of

of drawing to herself all the commerce of the Ocean and Mediterranean, and to see them, without any great expence, in the middle of her provinces: all this would cost her nothing but the labour of cutting a canal from the Seine to the Loire, from the Loire to the Saone, and from the Saone to the Meuse*; and the first glance of this project presents us with more than two millions a year, which we should get from Spain alone, and which would be real and solid wealth, as all that is which is produced by commerce.

I ENTERED into a long series of particulars, when I gave in my report to the king; and I accompanied it with a paper, in which I cleared up the
the

* Before the duke of Sully came into the ministry, it had never been thought of in France to derive any advantage from the rivers; to which, nevertheless, it must be owned, the kingdom is indebted for its wealth and commerce. He began with the canal of Briare, but was not able to proceed farther. Perhaps nothing will contribute so much to render the reign of Lewis the Great immortal, as that wonderful canal for joining the two seas: the great benefits resulting to the nation from these undertakings, so happily executed, passing over the example Holland affords us, points out to us what remains to be farther done, and at the same time proves, that however difficult attempts of this nature may appear, they are yet far from being impossible.

The joining rivers, and making roads, which render the communication either of different provinces, or different parts of the same province, more easy and commodious, are perhaps the two most important objects to which a wise government can apply its attention in time of peace; and by employing the soldiery, who are at such times useless, or that prodigious number of beggars, who are always so, in performing works of this nature, they will be executed at a moderate expence. Idleness, which generally makes beggars and vagabonds turn thieves and robbers, at the same time will be banished from the nation, and commerce introduced into every part of it.

It is necessary there should be some principal center for the riches of a nation; but nevertheless other cities should not fall a sacrifice to the capital; which being in the body politic, what the heart is in the human body, constantly receiving the blood, and as constantly propelling it, even to the most extreme parts, they cannot be deprived of it without bringing a languor on the whole machine. Much trouble might be saved in studying the nature of those secret springs which give motion to the most minute branches of commerce, were due attention given to that simple and obvious principle, of only supplying the country people with the means of living in ease and plenty.

the reality of some of the revenues which were not comprised in these articles. The prince, who certainly expected a very different scheme, and whose natural liveliness of temper kept him from attending to my discourse so closely as was necessary, raised at first a thousand difficulties to all my designs; he said, that indeed the schemes were great, but some of them were wild and unsettled; others of no great profit; some difficult to be executed, and some hard to be made consistent with each other. All this was because he did not understand them. I knew well enough what his majesty was wanting, and what proposal would have suited his inclination: an augmentation of the customs, creation of new offices, or a further alienation of his crown lands: if I would have shewn him a scheme, which I had myself drawn up upon these means of raising money, I might have brought fourscore millions of ready coin into his coffers; besides sixty millions more, by letting a lease of five millions a year, to which I had raised six of his farms above their former value. But I easily brought the king to allow, that though these methods were easily practicable, they were at the same time very burthensome to the people; that we ought not to have recourse to them but in the most pressing exigencies, and that the leisure of a time of peace should be employed in carrying on measures that required more time and application. Such were the nine schemes that I had laid before him, of which I assured him, that although he seemed to rate them at so little, yet if they were skilfully managed and brought on one after another, they would in time make him richer than he was by two hundred millions.

THE king fell into my opinion, and we determined to begin by the re-establishment of the public revenue, when I had shewn, by good extracts and authentic papers out of the chamber of accounts, the court of aids, and other offices, that this regulation would,

would, without the least injustice, bring six millions into the royal treasury. He engaged in this afterwards so warmly, that he shewed the highest impatience to begin, and never writ me a letter in which he did not mention it. To succeed in this, I thought it necessary that a new council or office should be erected; to this an opposition was made by the chamber of accounts, but no regard was had to their arguments. This council was composed of Chateauneuf, Calignon, and Jeannin, the presidents De Thou and Tambonneau alternately, and of Rebours; a treasurer, and a register, who were Le Gras, and Regnouard; and I was the chief of it, and present at it as often as my other business would give me leave; but whether I was there or not every thing went forward according to a scheme which I had drawn as the rule † of their operations. All our proceedings would be tedious to relate, it is sufficient to say, that I had made a clear and exact distinction between the grants made at different times and from different funds; some had been bought for the payment of the third part of their price in ready money, some for half, others for the whole sum; there were some that had cost their possessors very little, some were obtained by mere fraud, and others honestly procured; these last were never touched otherwise than to settle them more securely according to their original condition; as for the rest, according to the degree of fraud and injustice with which they had been procured, we either struck them entirely off, or ordered the full purchase to be paid; there were some, of which the possessors were obliged to pay back the arrears, which they had so unjustly got into their possession; and others, who, for having embezzled the arrears, were obliged to deduct them from the principal, which it was so

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much

† A more particular detail is given of these regulations in the old Memoirs; those concerned in the revenue may there have an opportunity of consulting them.

much easier to pay off. The public gained another advantage, by suppressing a number of receivers of the revenue, who were an useless burthen upon it, and of whom I left only one remaining.

THE enquiry which I had schemed out against monopolizers and officers of the revenue was afterwards carried on by the erection of a chamber of justice; but as the corrupt management of solicitation and intercession was not cut off, nothing was produced, but the common consequence, the chief criminals escaped, and those who were less considerable suffered all the severity of the law: some remedy was found for this abuse, at least in the time immediately following my enquiry; for I took great care, that when any man was found guilty of corruption he should be immediately punished. Exact information was given of those that were committed at Rouen. Mankind now began to give to all these strokes of art the name that they deserved; and those unlawful gains which had so long impoverished France, and enriched the officers of the revenue, were treated, without ceremony, as robbery and rapine; and honesty began to shew her head in a sanctuary where she had never resided before.

THE treasurers of France having this year presented their accounts full of blanks for nonpayment, I could think of no better method to cure them of a practice which I very much suspected of dishonesty, than to assign them these pretended blanks for the payment of their next year's wages. The removal of Drouart, whose place was given to Montauban, and some other strokes of the same kind, taught the chief of these men of business to do their duty, and to do it well. By a decree passed against one Le-Roi, they were forbidden, under a penalty of an hundred thousand livres, to take any foreigner as a partner in the king's farms. This decree was declared in the name of Charles Du-Han, farmer-general of the five great farms, to the chief persons interested in the

the revenue, and the other farms of the king at Paris, and the other principal cities in the kingdom.

I COMPLAINED to the king of an invasion made by the parliament of Toulouse on his authority, by forbidding any corn to be carried out of the province of Languedoc. I was informed of this by the treasurers of the province, because it threatened the ruin of the foreign customs, the farmers of which demanded a very considerable abatement : it likewise reduced both the galleys and the garrisons into difficulties, as they were generally victualled from that part of the kingdom.

THE four hundred thousand livres raised by augmenting the taille, into which half of the tax of a penny in the shilling had been changed, continued still to be paid ; as likewise the other half, laid upon merchandizes : tho' the edict by which these taxes were established was settled but for two years. The officers of the revenue made representations to the king upon this account : they complained of the low value to which certain farms were fallen which depended upon commerce with Spain, by the prohibition of that trade, as well as by the multiplicity of edicts daily issued by the council, and which they represented as more dangerous to the public, than the taille itself. I allow, for my part, that their complaints were just, and had myself remonstrated to the king long before them. He had written two letters upon this subject, one to the council, in which he shewed them, that the present state of affairs, and particularly the armament of Spain, did not allow him to make any abatement in his revenues for the present year ; and the other to me to prevail upon the council to come into his opinion.

I GAVE him what assistance was in my power, as grand master of the ordnance. The arsenal was at that time stored with an hundred pieces of cannon ; there were in the galleries, small arms for fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse ; and in the Temple

Temple and at the Bastile, were two millions of pounds of powder, and a hundred thousand bullets. I remember, that one day as Henry was walking with me in the arsenal, he seemed alarmed at the number and power of the enemies that threatened him: but I shewed him the formidable store, by which he would be able to bring them all to terms. He then demanded a list of his arms, ammunition, and artillery, with a summary account of his ready money, and what could be added to it, in the year 1605 and 1606. He entered into my cabinet, and made my secretaries write these minutes, that he might have them always in his pocket.

THE regulation and discipline of the soldiers was an article of government most necessary to be considered in order to its reformation. It is hard to conceive, that, in a nation which from its first establishment has been engaged in war, and has indeed pursued no other trade than that of arms, no care should have been hitherto taken to form and methodise them. Whatever related to the soldiery of France, was offensive and disgusting. The foot soldiers were enlisted by violence, and made to march by a cudgel; their pay was unjustly withheld, they heard of nothing but a prison, and had nothing before their eyes but a gibbet. This treatment drove them into all methods of desertion, which was prevented only by the prevots, who kept them in their camp like men besieged: the officers themselves being ill paid, had some kind of right to violence and plunder. Henry would often say, and he spoke according to his own experience, that the public could never be well served, till the troops were put into another state.

THE first point, on which this new regulation must depend, was exactness of payments, which the king began by settling it so, that, for the future, it could neither be delayed, nor the money appointed for it applied to any other use. This regulation was followed

followed by another equally just and equally proper to reconcile the mind to the trade of arms: by this there was a provision made for the relief of soldiers, when, by wounds or sickness contracted in the service, they were unable to live either by war or labour: things were managed so, that, in this state of misery, they wanted nothing, either for their maintenance, or their cure*.

THE liberty with which I have expressed myself concerning the king's faults gives me a right to praise him for his good qualities. He was born with the virtues and method of œconomy, and therefore practised them without any constraint: particular details of business were to him merely an amusement. Princes who engage personally in the administration of government, fall commonly into one of these two inconveniencies; either they are incapable of submitting to moderate views, or they cannot raise them to any height. The mind of Henry adapted itself with the same ease to things small or great, of which
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* By the king's edict, dated the 7th of July 1605 (for possibly this affair could not be concluded till the year after) his majesty granted to the gentlemen, officers, and soldiers disabled in his service, the royal house of christian charity, built with the money arising from the surplus of the accounts of hospitals, alms-houses, and spirals, for lepers, &c. and from the pensions of lay-monks, and the oblates †: the superintendence of it belonged to the high constable of France. This establishment has since been changed, or rather totally abolished, by what Lewis the Great substituted in its stead, in building and endowing the royal hospital of Mars, or the Invalids, a monument alone sufficient to immortalize his memory. This house of christian charity was before this only an hospital, without any revenue belonging to it, built by Henry III. for maimed soldiers; it stood in the suburbs of Saint Marcellus, in the street called rue de l'Ourfine, and was ready to fall down. Two years after, Henry IV. also caused the hospital of Saint Lewis to be built; for this purpose, he granted to the Hôtel Dieu, ten sous on every minot ‡ of salt, within the district of Paris, during fifteen years, and five sous for ever.

† Lay-Monks or oblates, were soldiers disabled in the king's service, who had the maintenance of a monk assigned to them on the revenues of an abbey, as a reward for their service.

‡ A minot of salt contains four French bushels, and is something less than an English bushel.

his letters give sufficient evidence, and a way that was then used of applying to him immediately, sometimes for mere trifles, shew it still more plainly. There had been long due two hundred and fifty crowns to a wine merchant of Gisors, who had formerly furnished the household with wine. His majesty sent me to pay him, and to recompense him for the delay, "my conscience, says he, obliges me to pity that poor man." I have, perhaps, told too many of these kind of stories; but my book would make quite another kind of a figure, if I presented to the public all the letters which the king wrote to me.

As to those other ideas that had a higher object, either of interest, of glory, or public happiness, the king never lost sight of them, either in his vexations or his pleasures: that he might know whether my ideas agreed with his, he made many enquiries; and concluded at last, that I should give him an enumeration of all those things, by which I thought the glory of a powerful kingdom might be destroyed or sullied. I thought there was no better way of complying with his intention, than that of presenting him a sketch, written with such simplicity, and with such few useless ornaments of style, that he might at once glance it over: it contained an enumeration, without proof or exposition, of those abuses which commonly find their way into public affairs. I here lay it before my readers, to whom it may serve as a compendium of the principles, which they have seen, and must expect to see, diffused through these Memoirs.

THE causes of the ruin or decline of monarchies are exorbitant subsidies, monopolies, chiefly those relating to corn; neglect of merchandise, trade, agriculture, arts, and manufactories; the great number of public employments, the fees, and excessive authority of men in office; the cost, the delay, and the injustice of tribunals; idleness, luxury, and all that

that is connected with it, debauchery, and corruption of manners, confusion of ranks, changes of the value of money, unjust and imprudent wars, *the despotic power of sovereigns, their blind adherence to particular persons, their prejudice in favour of particular conditions or professions; the greediness of ministers and favourites, the degradations of persons of quality; contempt and neglect of men of letters; the connivance at bad customs, and infraction of good laws; an obstinate adherence to customs, either mischievous or indifferent; and the multiplicity of edicts and useless regulations.

If I was to chuse among all the forms of government, of which this monarchy has furnished examples, I should propose Clovis, Charlemagne, Philip the August, and Charles * the Sage; and I could wish that the eye might never fall so low, as upon the reign of Charles VIII. and our times; and if I was to establish a single principle of government, it should be this, "That good laws and good manners produce each other." But such is our unhappiness, that we never perceive this valuable connexion, till corruptions and abuses have been carried together to the highest points; so that among men, the principle of good arises always from the extremity of evil.

THE

* It would perhaps have been still better, to have also rejected the three first of these, and kept only to Charles V. On examining the characters of Henry IV. and the duke of Sully, we shall find the one acted on the principles of a Roman, the other on those of a true Spartan: the maxims here laid down discover a mixture of both these principles. I have observed before, what correctives were necessary to modify the too austere temper of the duke of Sully: I shall here take the same liberty with the too warlike disposition of Henry IV. A military spirit is undoubtedly necessary to defend a state; it ought therefore to be nourished with the utmost care; but it should notwithstanding be kept in the same state we do a mastiff, for the defence of our house, that is, chained up, and very seldom indulged with the liberty of pursuing its own course, lest it should turn upon its masters and tear them to pieces. The reputation alone of courage produces almost the same effect as the exertion of it can. It may be laid down as a principle, that there are no means but what are preferable to war, if the same end can be obtained by them,

THE regulations, for the augmentation and securing of commerce, appearing to Henry to be of the first importance to the public, he laid out the greatest part of his care upon them. The project of the canal for joining the Seine to the Loire * being ratified, I removed myself to those parts, that there might be no mistake in the preparations that were previous to the execution; whether in taking heights, or levelling the ground, or laying hold of any advantages that might occur. I spent but little time in this journey, for the king recalled me almost as soon as I was gone. In the like manner I regulated several affairs of commerce in the journey I made to Poitou, as has been already related.

Of these affairs, the most important and most perplexing, was an unforeseen quarrel which happened this year with Spain, concerning the mutual traffic carried on between the two nations. The king of Spain had, in the preceding year, laid a duty of thirty per cent. upon all French goods imported to Spain or Flanders; as likewise upon all goods exported

* This is the canal of Briare, which from that little town runs to Montargis, about ten leagues distant from it. It was to have been continued to Moret; but this part of the design was left unexecuted, and the canal itself was neglected, after more than three hundred thousand crowns had been laid out upon it, through the malice of those who envied M. de Rosny, or, according to Mezerai, through the change that happened in the ministry. This work was far advanced at that time; it has since been resumed, and at length finished. M. De Thou bestows great commendation on M. De Sully, for being the inventor of this design, b. cxxxi. A further proof of this may be drawn from the silver and copper plates, or a kind of medals found in 1737, when they were at work on the sluices in this canal, and which it was certainly wrong to take from thence. The count of Buron, one of the parties interested in this canal, sent the copper ones to the present duke of Sully, which are now in the duke's cabinet of medals, but kept the silver ones on account of their value. One of these copper medals is charged with the duke of Sully's arms, and another bears this inscription: "1607. Maximilian de Bethune, under the reign of Henry IV. by the hands of Messire Peter Ozon, at this time mayor and governor of Montargis-le-Franc." The duke of Sully has also lately recovered part of the memorials and other writings relating to this canal,

ported from these two states into France ; a heavy imposition, which was at once an insult upon our nation, and tended to revolt the minds of his own subjects. The king returned it by expressly prohibiting all commerce with the subjects of Spain, and the archdutchies, and by a duty still larger upon all the Spanish goods landed at Calais : but this prohibition could not prevent the fraudulent carriage of our provisions to the enemy's country. The French merchants, notwithstanding the new monopoly, still found there were such great profits to be made on our grain and other goods, from the scarcity of them in Spain, that they exposed themselves, for those profits, to all the rigour of the law ; and, on that account, there was a kind of sedition raised in the city of Marseilles, of which the president Du-Vair sent immediate notice to the court. The merchants of this city lost all patience, when they found themselves obliged to sit idle and inactive, while the Italians came and carried away their provisions, and deprived them of their usual profits. This permission, which was granted by his majesty to the Italians, was, in my opinion, ill judged.

THE English were pleased at this new incident ; and so far were they from endeavouring to accommodate the affair, that they secretly strove to make it worse, because they carried on the same trade fraudulently, which the Italians were authorised to do. It was discovered, that eight or nine English vessels had taken in their loadings of grain at Olone, and went from thence to Saint Sebastian, to disembark them : this, doubtless, was the resource the Spaniards depended upon, otherwise their prohibition would have fallen heavy upon themselves, which Henry, from the beginning, had flattered himself would happen : and it was the hope, that Spain would suffer more from it than we, joined to his solicitude to maintain the honour of his crown, that it might not be said his enemies could

could dispose of its commerce, which made him still require a strict observation of the prohibition he had published. He commanded me to send a person of probity and understanding, to visit all that part of the country, from the mouth of the Loire to the Garonne, and all along the borders of these two rivers, to see that this ordonnance was punctually obeyed ; and he was empowered to punish all that should be found to have acted contrary to it ; those being generally the places where such illegal practices were carried on. I gave this commission to La-Font, who executed it so well, that his majesty kept him afterwards about his own person.

HENRY, at the same time, ordered his ambassador in England, to complain to king James, of the practices of his subjects : and to give him to understand, that, if he made peace with Spain, with a view to appropriate to himself the trade we carried on with that kingdom, he would take such measures that France should not suffer alone, but that England should lose more by it than her. This was tacitly to desire, that he would offer his mediation to compose the difference between the two crowns ; for Henry thought it probable, that the king of England might be tempted by the apparent advantage of such an accession to the trade of his kingdom, as to make peace with Spain ; and he was now sensible, though too late, of the injury he had done himself, and that the arguments his council had made use of were all false : this threw him into great perplexity. Villeroi and Sillery were appointed by his majesty, to attend this affair with the utmost assiduity ; and I likewise was ordered to confer about it with the constable, the chancellor, the commandeur de Chastes, and vice-admiral De Vic.

WE found many difficulties to struggle with on both sides. Trade must necessarily suffer great injury, if the prohibition remained in force ; and if repealed, great shame must reflect upon the crown.

Henry

Henry could not resolve to do any thing that, in his opinion, seemed to acknowledge his fears of Spain, which had not condescended to take any step that led towards an accommodation with him; and all that could be hoped for from his most christian majesty was, that, although he suffered the prohibition to remain in force, he would wink at the infringement of it by the merchants, that he might be at liberty to repeat it again if they too openly abused this indulgence, to the prejudice of the royal authority: as for me, the wound that was given to trade, was the only thing almost that I considered; therefore, on this account, England and Spain were equal to me; and I represented to his majesty, that the damage we must inevitably sustain, made it necessary that he should use no more severity with the one than the other.

THE king of England did not refuse his mediation in this difference; he even offered to engage for the faithful performance of the promises both parties should make on this occasion: but he affected to act as an arbitrator between the two crowns; and the king, offended with his vanity, would not accept of his mediation, but in the quality of a common friend. The pope likewise began to interest himself greatly in the dispute, being apprehensive that a more dangerous rupture might ensue between France and Spain. He wrote to cardinal Bufalo, his nuncio in France, to use his utmost endeavours to prevent it; and this cardinal, a short time afterwards, found a favourable opportunity to obey him.

THE count of Beaumont, who still continued to be our ambassador at the court of London, had often mentioned the late dispute concerning our trade, in the presence of the counts de Villa-mediana and d'Aremberg, the one ambassador from the king of Spain, the other from the archdukes; and had even drawn up a kind of an agreement with their concurrence,

currence, together with that of the president Richardot, and Lewis Vroreylzen, which had been communicated to the constable of Castile, who was likewise at London: but his sudden departure, together with some other difficulties that came in the way, hindered this matter from proceeding so far as to get the preliminary of this agreement signed. The constable of Castile passed through Paris, and had an interview there with cardinal Bufalo, who pressed him so earnestly, and upon so many motives concerning this affair, that he obtained a promise from him that it should be referred to the examination of some commissioners, whom he named for the king his master: the council of France appointed some on their side. But this method of proceeding was not likely to bring the affair to a conclusion, which, by being submitted to so many arbitrators, was protracted to an insufferable length. Bufalo prevailed upon Don Baltasar Stuniga, the Spanish ambassador in France, and upon Alexander Rovidius, a senator of Milan, who were interested in a cause for one of the parties, to refer every thing relating to it to him; this done, that the business might on the side of the other party be wholly consigned to one person, he desired the king to give me a power equal to his, and without any adjunct; from that time, the affair was thought to be in great forwardness. I went to visit the cardinal, and animated his zeal by a new incitement, telling him, that we were upon the point of declaring war, and that his majesty was busied in making great preparations for it. In a few days I prevailed upon him to agree to the articles I had drawn up, by which the freedom of trade was secured: these articles were almost the same with those that had been proposed and discussed at London.

THE substance of this treaty, for such it became afterwards, although every thing had been agreed on only between cardinal Bufalo and myself, was, that

that the edict of thirty per cent. and that for the suspension of trade between the two crowns of France and Spain, should be and continue repealed; this was the great point. But the two princes having both endeavoured to justify their conduct by many reciprocal complaints against each other, which likewise related to the trade of their kingdoms; many other articles were added, that tended to remove these grievances.

It was specified, that his most Christian majesty should publish an edict, forbidding all his subjects either to export or authorise the exportation of any Dutch goods into Spain, or any state under the dominion of that crown, by lending vessels, waggons, or any other sort of carriages; that the real French goods should be stamped with the seal of the city which furnished them, and should be inserted in a register: this was done with a view to obviate the inconveniencies which might arise from a resemblance in the goods, which otherwise should be liable to confiscation; but they were not upon a bare suspicion of fraud to stop or retard the exportation of these goods; that all the Dutch, who were taken in French vessels, should be seized; that the French should not carry Spanish goods into any part of the Low Countries, but those that should be specified in the bills; and that to prevent any breach of faith, they should enter into an obligation in writing before the Spanish magistrate of the place from whence they set out, to pay the thirty per cent. which obligation should be returned to them upon their bringing back, within a year, a certificate from the magistrate of the place where they disembarked, either in France, or in any part of Flanders where trade was permitted; that the king of France should order all Spanish goods to be seized, which were brought by his subjects in Spain, to be carried into any of the prohibited places, half of which should be given to the informer, the thirty per cent. deducted:

ducted: that the French magistrate, who should be convicted of having given false certificates of discharge, should be prosecuted and punished; and that the two kings should mutually engage to leave the places of passage free. The article of the imposts, which ever since the peace of Vervins, were laid upon goods carried from Spain to Flanders, or from Flanders to Spain through Calais, and when they entered this port, having been already settled in the presence of this cardinal, nothing remained to be added to it. It was stipulated, that forty days after the date of this treaty, it should be published in the respective states on the same day: it was dated the 12th of October, and signed at first only by cardinal Bufalo and me*.

ALTHOUGH I was very sure that Henry would approve of this treaty, as he had been first consulted upon every article in it, yet I was apprehensive of the cavils of Sillery and the other commissioners, from whom the cognizance of this affair had been taken: the expedient I made use of therefore was, to send Arnaud the elder with the articles to Sillery, with a civil request that he would give me his opinion of them. Sillery, without looking into them, answered quick, that the affair was in very good hands, and that the person who had transacted it alone might also conclude it alone. This answer would not satisfy me; I sent Arnaud back again to tell him, that it appeared to me necessary that the treaty should be signed by him and the other commissioners first named, and that I entreated he would come to my house and sign it; but that if he refused, I could not dispense with myself from sending the

* See the treaty itself in the *Chronologie Septennaire*. The king gives the marquis of Rosny no other titles in it but that of great master and captain-general of the ordnance of France. Cardinal Bufalo did not sign it, but only messieurs de Rosny and de Sillery; Don Balthazar de Cuniga, for the king of Spain; and the senator Rovidius. Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. p. 655.

the treaty to his majesty by Arnaud; letting him know at the same time, that the difficulty he made in signing it would delay the conclusion for two days: and this was no more than the truth. Sillery, being afraid that if any accident should happen during this interval that might prevent this agreement on trade from taking effect, he should be answerable for it, went to cardinal Bufalo's house and signed the treaty, as did also Villeroi.

THE king, when he received a copy of these articles, confirmed by these free signatures, bestowed great praises on the cardinal nuncio, and made him a present of a cross of diamonds; he recommended him to the pope, in a letter which was conceived in terms very advantageous for him, and honoured him with the distinction of eating at his table. His majesty would not publish the treaty of commerce till the ratification of it arrived from Spain, but he secretly permitted the exportation of grain, which was what the people ardently desired.

ABOUT this time another treaty was concluded at London between England and Spain, in which France could not avoid interesting herself greatly, after what had passed the preceding year between her and England. To be thoroughly informed of this treaty, it is necessary to represent the affairs, both political and military, in Spain and Flanders, with which those of England have in this respect an unavoidable connection.

THE siege of Ostend continued still to be carried on with the same obstinacy by the Spaniards: in the mean time, the prince of Orange, at the beginning of the campaign, attacked the isle of Cadfan, which he had made himself master of on the 10th of May, and afterwards of all the neighbouring forts, designing to open himself a way from thence to the frontier of Calais; and at length laid siege to Sluys. From Bruges the king received advices, that the archduke, who beheld this attempt with grief, was gone to assemble
fifteen

fifteen or sixteen thousand men, with whom he hoped to succour this place, by storming Ardembourg, which covered it; but that Maurice had so well intrenched himself there, that it was not believed he could be forced out, provided he had a sufficient number of men to guard his intrenchments: the Flemish general took likewise the precaution to carry his trenches as far as Ardembourg, that if he should be obliged to draw off his troops from the operations of the siege, he might be in a condition to reduce the place by famine, if he could not by force. Sluys surrendered on the 10th of August.

THE Spaniards, animated by the vigorous resistance of their enemies, and a sense of the prodigious losses they had suffered before Ostend, thought their honour still more concerned after this success of the prince of Orange, to prevent their being foiled in an enterprise which had lasted so long. De-Vic informed his majesty by D'Auval, who was returned from England, that he had caused three mines to be blown up before Ostend, but without success: however, it is certain, that Ostend was reduced to the last extremity; the Spaniards boasted that they would take it before the end of July; and that they should still have time to go and deliver Sluys with all their forces re-united. No one gave credit to this boast, especially when Persi le riche, captain of the regiment of Nerestan, who came lately from that place, said positively at Paris, that it would still hold out six weeks or two months. In effect, Sluys surrendered before Ostend, for the Flemish defended themselves with a courage that has few examples: they were seconded by a reinforcement of eleven companies, which made up between a thousand and twelve hundred men, all fresh, which had been just sent them by the States, under the conduct of general Marquette. They fell upon an expedient to make an inner intrenchment, which might enable them, when reduced to a necessity of capitulation,

capitulation, to obtain more advantageous terms, by holding out there ; and they found means, pressed as they were, to throw in ammunition and money.

THIS was a new and surprising spectacle for all Europe, that a little state which forms but a scarce perceptible point in the map, should dare to raise her head from the midst of her marshes, and brave, during so long a time, the formidable power of Spain. It is wonderful to think where they found forces or funds to pay them, for it was computed that this war cost the States twenty thousand florins a day ; the perplexities to which they were often reduced were not indeed known ; they hardly any longer knew to whom they should have recourse, and were obliged to apply to every one for relief. The duke of Bouillon having promised them a sum of money, they sent captain Sarroques to receive it ; but he came back without any thing, but the regret of having put his masters to the expence of four or five thousand florins, which their compliments to the princess of Orange cost them.

HENRY was their usual resource ; sometimes they requested an hundred thousand crowns ; at other times, two hundred thousand weight of powder, for they consumed great quantities of it : there was no end of their demands. Buzenval, whom his majesty ordered to reside in those cantons, to give him an account of all that passed, was of great use to them in supporting their solicitations with the king, who at length was the only power that continued to be their friend, when all the others had abandoned them. The Dutch expressed great fondness for Buzenval, and kept him with them as it were by force when he was recalled home. And who indeed was there whom they did not soothe, and endeavour to engage in their interests ? They would have made me a very considerable present ; but Buzenval, whom they acquainted with their design, assured them I would not accept of it : and they contented them-

selves with offering me, by Aërsens, some curious pieces of shell-work, and some coach-horses of their country for my wife. Henry shewed a readiness to oblige them, which could not proceed from self-interested motives, and which, with that people, ought to have given him the merit of one of the founders of their liberty. They must be ungrateful in the highest degree, if they ever abandon a crown to which they owe such great obligations*. Henry wrote to me this year, when I was in Poitou, that Buzenval had made him new requests in favour of the States, which probably it was not prudent to grant; but that he could not resolve to abandon them, whatever reports might be raised in England, or whatever threats Spain might throw out against him.

It is easy to judge what the present war must have cost Spain, which was in effect the assailant, by what I have just related of the United-Provinces, who kept themselves merely upon the defensive, and did not stir from their own doors; and of the resentment that Spain preserved against us. The council of Madrid, enraged at the losses they sustained by a war that had almost drained their treasury, which, however, they concealed with the utmost care, often threatened never to forgive the treatment they received from the French. Henry affected to be ignorant of these threats, and he acted wisely: the council, by this impotent anger, shewed its own weakness; and it was well known in France, that his catholic majesty's revenues were exhausted.

OSTEND † was taken at length on the 22d of September, and Henry had the consolation to see, that for five or six hundred thousand crowns, which this expedition had cost him every year since it first began, he had considerably advanced the ruin of his enemies the Spaniards.

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* Grotius speaks of it almost in the same words, in his book, intitled, *The annals and history of the troubles in the Netherlands.*

† See the surrender of Ostend and Sluys, and the other actions of this campaign, in De Thou, the Septen. Matthieu, Siri, and other historians, ann. 1604.

It might reasonably be expected, that the treaty I had negotiated with England the preceding year would have produced greater things. Spain was convinced that she should lose Flanders entirely, if she did not find means to make some change in those dispositions in which I had left the king of Great Britain. After my departure, therefore, from London, she renewed her intrigues and solicitations to obtain at least a neutrality in what concerned the United-Provinces, if she could not bring his Britannic majesty over to her party. The Spaniards, at first, thought they ought to make very high demands; and afterwards their offers also were as high to procure a grant of part of those demands. Their first proposals were rejected without being examined; but these were followed by another, which gave them hopes that they should prevail upon the English to abandon the Dutch, knowing they had nothing so much at heart; this was to make the Indian trade free to both nations. But this offer proved ineffectual, because Spain, foreseeing that there would be still a necessity of abating something in her demands, added a condition that destroyed its force, and required, that England should enter into a league offensive and defensive with her. The king of England's council, having many strong reasons for rejecting this alliance, made no scruple to confess, that it was the interest of their crown to support Holland, instead of openly taking part with her enemies.

It was now absolutely believed, that the Spaniards had nothing to hope for from England: Beaumont was the only one who was of a contrary opinion, and foretold, notwithstanding all these apparent obstacles, they would come to an agreement, which in effect they did. The Spaniards, some time afterwards, returned to the charge, still lessening their demands according to their subtle maxims of policy, and commissioners were appointed on both sides; the disputes ran so high, that they were many times upon

the point of breaking off the conference. The affair imperceptibly turned into a negotiation more peaceable; the English commissioners reduced the Spanish ones not only to express no resentment against France, but they were the first to say, that she ought not in any manner to be excluded. They never mentioned the two kings without joining the third to them; and even treated the States with respect and consideration, appearing inclined to come to an agreement with them at all events. All this was done to conceal from his Britannic majesty whatever was contrary in the real design of this negotiation to the first, and to remove all his scruples.

To this battery they joined the assistance of little anonymous writings, in which the authors endeavoured to prove, that peace was equally advantageous for the three kings. In one of these papers, which was supposed to be written by an Englishman, because the power of the king of England was greatly exaggerated, who, says the author, can subsist independent of any other state, though none can without him: as if the Spaniards were not capable of so high a flight of flattery to secure the success of their designs; in one of these papers, I say, it was maliciously insinuated, that this peace was desired with equal ardour by the three kings; but that their most Christian and Britannic majesties secretly wished, at the same time, that it would give them a claim to the possession of Flanders.

HOWEVER, they could come to no agreement during the space of a year; and it was not till the 21st of June this year that the negotiation was likely to succeed; but it went on rapidly at the beginning of July, and was so far advanced, that no one in England doubted of its being concluded, as soon as the constable of Castile arrived, who was upon the point of going to London in the quality of ambassador-extraordinary from his catholic majesty, and furnished with full powers to conclude the peace: the same opinion prevailed in Paris; and it was even believed there,

there, that not only England but the United Provinces, had secretly made conditions of agreement with Spain; and that the States, by the interposition and arbitration of his Britannic majesty, had put an end to the disputes on occasion of the cautionary towns, the navigation of the Indies, the liberty of trading without paying the thirty per cent. and others. But why, if this was so, did we not see the siege raised, and other hostilities cease on both sides?

THIS report, however, was absolutely false, at least with regard to the imaginary agreement and arbitration. The States perceived but too soon, and even while the conferences were subsisting, that they had nothing more to expect from his Britannic majesty. This prince became weary at length of struggling so long with his inclinations; he affected to be the common friend of all Europe. He had lately given the name of Great-Britain to his united kingdoms, and had made a solemn entry into London, where a conference was held by his orders to reconcile the church-party and the puritans; for his pacific notions extended to all things: he did not reflect, that by this conduct he was going to exclude from the benefit of a peace those very persons that had most need of it, who were the Dutch, whom he left to the mercy of their enemies. The English already began to abuse every one of that nation whom they found trading in their ports: and when the Dutch alledged, as usual, that the English ought not to concern themselves with a certain kind of traffic upon their coasts, they replied, that they had permission to do it from the king of Spain their sovereign. Nothing so irritated the Dutch as speeches of that nature; and if the inhabitants of Flushing had been suffered, it is believed they would have murdered all the English they had amongst them: but the fatal consequences of such a proceeding being represented to them, they restrained their rage.

THE States had expected a quite different treatment,

ment, when, at the beginning of the conferences between the commissioners, his Britannic majesty insisted that they should be admitted, and their agent, the sieur Le Caron, heard there. Le Caron acknowledged, that at first he had good reason to be satisfied with the English commissioners : upon the Spaniards introducing the subject of the Dutch cautionary towns, which they passionately desired should be put into their hands, the English told them, that they could do no otherwise than surrender these towns to the council of the United-Provinces, when the money lent upon them was repaid : and when the Spaniards retorted, with some resentment, that the restitution of them ought to be made to those who had given them as hostages, the English counsellors only answered, that if the States refused to pay the money that was lent, they would make the same proposal to the Spaniards. They were likewise favourable enough to the Dutch in the article concerning trade, which held them a long time in dispute ; the Spaniards insisted, that Holland should open to them the trade of the Flemish coast, and particularly that of Antwerp, which she had, as it were, locked up, by building several forts upon the Scheld, and among others that of Iffot : but the English soon cooled in these favourable intentions for their neighbours. Buzenval, whose letters furnished me with great part of what I have related concerning these conferences, judged thus of the event, that the English knew well what would be the consequences of this new plan of politics which they had embraced ; but that great jealousy of us, and a little folly, had suggested all that had been done on this occasion.

MATTERS were in this state, when the king of England thought proper to inform his most Christian majesty, by his ambassador at the court of France, of his intention to conclude a treaty with Spain, the English ambassador presenting the memorial to the
king

king at the same time. His Britannic majesty, in this memorial, persisted still in the strange opinion, that this treaty was not inconsistent with that of the preceding year. James had attempted to persuade Beaumont to believe the same, and promised Henry that he would defer the conclusion of it till the disputes which then subsisted between the two crowns of France and Spain concerning trade were terminated. The commissioners, however, did not scruple to sign the * treaty between Spain and England, and referred Beaumont to the arrival of the constable of Castile, to settle the affair of the trade between this nation and Spain. The constable was applied to when he passed through Paris in his way to London; but he prevented, by obstacles which he raised on purpose, the concluding upon any thing with cardinal Bufalo, who had already begun to interest himself in the affair. But what was still more surprising, these commissioners, without giving Beaumont any satisfaction on that head, had the assurance to demand the impost on the port of Calais to be taken off. Beaumont, who knew it was his majesty's intention to continue it, even after the affair of thirty per cent. was concluded, which had no relation to that, evaded the proposal, by making one of the same nature to them.

THE constable of Castile passed through France again the latter end of September, in his return to Spain, carrying with him the treaty concluded, and arrived at Paris just as the treaty of commerce was concluded there likewise. He demanded permission, the next day, to pay his respects to the king, to whom he presented himself with an air and countenance full of satisfaction; he made him a studied compliment, which

* This treaty is no way different from a true treaty of peace; the kings of Spain and England engage their allies in it, that is, all the states and princes of Christendom, who are all named, except the United-Provinces alone: it is set out at large in the Septen. ann. 1604. Matthieu, 650, &c.

which for that reason was perhaps the less sincere ; taking for his subject the two agreements lately made, he endeavoured to persuade this prince, that France and Spain being the two most powerful monarchies of Christendom, a strict union between them was the necessary and infallible means of accomplishing every enterprize they should undertake in concert ; he laid great stress upon the alliance which had at all times been between France and Castile ; he dwelt upon the advantages of this association, which would give the same friends and enemies to the two crowns, and upon the means of rendering it indissoluble ; which was, he said, to be wholly free from all partiality ; to divest themselves of all jealousy of authority, and pre-eminence ; to explain and determine, in an amicable manner, their pretensions upon certain cantons and cities of Europe ; he did not forget to insinuate to his majesty, that the protestants were enemies which policy required should be humbled : he concluded his speech with representing to the king, the advantages that a double marriage between the children of the two kings must necessarily produce ; a marriage which seemed (he said) by the circumstances of the times, to be already determined in heaven. He artfully assured the king, that he had no authority from his master for what he had said on this subject, but entreated him to acquaint him with his sentiments on it ; because, though they were only overtures made by himself, yet if they had the good fortune to be approved by his majesty, he should with the greater confidence propose them afterwards to the king his master.

I WAS not present at this discourse, but the king came to the arsenal on purpose to give me an account of it. He stopped, after relating the Spaniard's proposals, telling me he desired to know what answer I should have made to them, before he repeated that which he had given himself. I replied,
with

with the same gaiety, that I could tell him immediately, but that I would defer satisfying him till the next day, that I might take time to consider of it, and prevent him from accusing me of precipitation, as he often did when my opinion had not the good fortune to please him. His majesty consented to it, smiling, and gave me a little tap on the cheek, as was his custom when he was in good humour.

I WENT the next day to the Louvre, to acquit myself of my promise, and found the king walking upon the terrace of the Capuchins; I told him, that if he still remembered a sentence which I had once applied to the Spaniards, and which he thought diverting enough, "that they preferred works * to faith," he would not be long at a loss to know what answer I would have made to their ambassador; that after so many breaches of faith, so many perjuries, and violations of truth, with which Spain had dishonoured herself in the sight of all Europe, the constable of Castile's discourse would have seemed to me to be a new stratagem of the king of Spain, to break off the alliance between his majesty and the United-Provinces, and the other protestant powers his friends, that he might find a still more favourable opportunity of invading his kingdom than his father had done. This being a fact of so atrocious a nature, that no palliation of it ought even to be attempted, I recalled it to his remembrance, and added, that but for England, Holland, the French and foreign protestants, but for his incredible labours and incessant fatigues, Spain had probably at this day talked to him in the stile of a master: that the council of Madrid, accustomed to profane all that is most sacred in religion, abused the name of marriage, which had nothing binding enough in it to restrain their lawless attempts. And here I made an observation to Henry, which appeared to me to have great weight in it.

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* In allusion to one of Calvin's doctrines, which is censured by the catholic church.

IT was not, I told him, a stroke of such wise policy as was generally believed, to marry the sons of France into families almost equal to their own, such as that of Spain * ; for besides that there was no alliance, however close, but must yield to the hatred which ambition inspires against a rival, the advantage that was expected from these unions, might be destroyed by the very cause which made it too considerable : but it was quite different with marriages contracted with inferior families ; from them, at least, we might promise ourselves all the assistance they are in a condition to give : the honour of an alliance with the most illustrious house in the world is too flattering for them not to make them contribute with all their power towards the support of its grandeur, and the increase of its glory. Spain †, by this practice, has found the secret of considerably augmenting her power, by means less rapid, indeed, but also less hazardous, than war.

I TAKE this occasion to observe, that I am not of the common opinion with respect to the Salic law ; that law so much talked of, which is no where to be found in writing, but whose original is sufficiently demonstrated by the name it bears : as its antiquity is proved by the uncertainty even of this origin †. It

* By this stroke of politics, France nevertheless gained the crown of Spain to the house of Bourbon, after the death of Charles II.

† " The house of Austria, said Guy-Patin, has gained great inheritances, *per lanceam carnis* ; that is, by alliances and marriages."

† As to the Salic law, the abbé du Bos speaks of it as follows, in his Critical history of the establishment of the French monarchy in Gaul, vol. III. b. vii. p. 290, 291. " It probably obtained its name from its being already in force amongst the Salian Franks, when Clovis incorporated into their tribe all the tribes which acknowledged him as king, in the year 510, except the tribe of the Ripuarii. The most ancient digest we at present have of this law, is what was made by the order of king Clovis, and afterwards corrected by the orders of Childebert and Clotarius his children — In the year 798, Charlemagne made a new digest of it, in which he added many new ordinances to it, &c." This writer farther asserts, *ibid.* 273, That the clauses which enact, " That the crown of France shall not descend from the lance to the distaff," is really contained in the 62d article of the Salic laws,

It has been generally considered as the surest foundation of the kingdom and of the regal power. To me it appears, from the reflections I have made on this subject, that the situation of France, and the other advantages she has received from nature, are of themselves sufficient causes for that pre-eminence she has over all the other states of Europe; and that the Salic law, so far from contributing to these advantages, has often hindered them from being improved by those which a well-directed policy might have added to them. It is certain, that if a foreign prince, by marrying an heiress of France, should become our king, the first kings of this race would be considered either as Germans, Italians, Spaniards,

or

But another opinion has been maintained, and seems to be supported by reasons of still greater force, in opposition to the foregoing, by an academician of equal judgment and knowledge (M. de Foncemagne) in his excellent memoir on this subject, inserted in the collection of the memoirs of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, anno 1727, p. 490, & seq. It is thereby proved, that there is no one article in all the Salic code, which excludes daughters from the succession to the crown; and that the 6th paragraph of the 62d title of this code, where it is said, "That males alone can enjoy the Salic lands; and that females can have no share in the inheritance," ought only to be extended to the lands and inheritances of private persons: but that, besides this, there was a custom, existing from time immemorial, even amongst the Germans, that daughters could not succeed to the crown: that Tacitus makes mention of this, &c.—M. de Foncemagne had before demonstrated, in another memoir (*ibid.* anno 1726, p. 464. & seq.) that the kingdom of France was hereditary, but in the male line only, during the first race of our kings.

The sentiments of these two writers, though opposite in themselves, become united against the principle laid down in this part of these Memoirs, which conveys to us an idea in every respect insupportable. Besides its direct tendency to destroy the pre-eminence this nation enjoys, it would involve the whole kingdom in almost a perpetual series of civil and foreign wars, from the cabals it would occasion in the choice of a successor to the crown; it would create a confusion in the laws, for which foreign kings would not always observe a proper deference, and be productive of many other inconveniences, of which the author undoubtedly was not aware: I cannot therefore believe but the whole is only an imaginary scheme of the compilers, since none of the duke of Sully's maxims are discoverable in it. On the actual existence of the Salic laws consult Venderlin, Ecard Baluze, &c. cited by the two academicians above-named.

or English ; but as there is not the least reason to fear that he would transfer the seat of his empire from a city which every prince, if he had it in his power, would chuse to reside in, this first foreign prince, or king, would be soon a naturalized Frenchman ; and his posterity, from the first generation, would be wholly French. The house of Austria, established in Spain, and that of Stuart, placed on the throne of England, are evidences of this truth. This first foreign prince, or king, would likewise unite to our crown his hereditary dominions, probably for ever. The Salic law, by forbidding (if I may use the expression) the kingdom of France from falling to the distaff, has deprived it of one way of aggrandizing itself ; and a way so much the less to be despised, as force having no share in it, it affords no occasion nor pretence for war.

HENRY was much pleased with the answer I would have given to the Spanish constable ; he assured me, that his sentiments were the same with mine, but that he had concealed them under fair words, that he might not give the Castilian any suspicion of his designs*.

THESE designs might indeed suffer some prejudice from what passed at London between England and Spain,

* John De-Serre, speaking of the reception Henry IV. gave the constable, says, " The king sent the duke of Montbazon, with a most honourable train of noblemen, to receive him at the gate of Paris." When Zamet gave an entertainment to the constable, the king came in unawares, just as they were giving water to the constable to wash, saying, " I am come to sup with you." The constable being surprised, was going to put one knee to the ground, and present a napkin to him ; but the king raised him up, and said, " It is not your business to do the honours of this house, but to receive them, you are of the blood royal : " and truly, the king is related to the house of Velasques, holding the office of constable by hereditary right, and which is conferred by the kings of Spain on those they think proper to elevate to the next degree below themselves.

This ambassador had already had the honour of paying his respects to the king, two years before, when he was going to Flanders. " He continued on his knees, says Matthieu, something longer than he expected, " and thereupon said, the king received him like a king, and caressed him as a relation." Vol. II. b. v. p. 605. Siri, 317.

Spain, yet it did not take away a probability of carrying them into execution ; things were not yet so far advanced as to attempt that immediately : in political affairs, time brings every thing about, if its operations are waited for with prudence. In cardinal Bufalo, I found all that I had been so long seeking for on the part of Rome ; nor did I scruple to acquaint him with what might possibly happen hereafter, being persuaded that the kingdom of Naples, which I allotted for his holiness's share, was a bribe sufficient to secure his secrecy, and even to make him solicitous for the success of it. This cardinal had always appeared to me to be a perfect politician : Spain, by seizing, as she had lately done, upon the fortresses of Porto-hercole, Orbitello, Talamone, Piombino, Final, and Monaco, had opened the pope's eyes ; and indeed, if the Romans had not considered these frequent innovations as the forerunners of their approaching slavery, they must have been wholly void of reflection. That Clement the eighth was of this opinion is sufficiently clear, from the steps that he was observed to take ; he was just such a pope as Henry had occasion for, and this prince studied to oblige him on every occasion : he gave him a convincing proof of this disposition, by sending the prince of Condé to his court to be brought up, and instructed in the Roman-catholic religion.

THE princes of Germany had equally favourable impressions of Henry. His majesty commanded me to treat the duke of Wirtemberg's ambassador with great respect, that he might make a friend of his master ; and tho' he had some reason to be dissatisfied with the elector palatine, on account of the duke of Bouillon, yet he paid, without making any cavilling, certain sums that still remained due to this elector, for which his ministers solicited, Henry only requiring that he should recal his son from Sedan. With respect to the United-Provinces, though they were abandoned

abandoned by England, yet as that crown did not turn her arms against them, this made no alteration in their affairs, the assistance they had received from the English having been very inconsiderable. After the loss of Offend and Sluys, the States took a little repose; but it was weariness, and their exhausted condition, that made them submit to this respite, which was to continue but a short time. Thus the means of a diversion was secured, to be used whenever France should make attempts upon Spain.

I HAVE slightly touched upon a difference between Spain and the Grisons*, which made noise enough this year, to give occasion for many historical memoirs that were composed on this subject. This difference I am now going to explain.

THE Swiss Cantons have, for neighbours and allies, the three leagues of the Grisons, the thirteen corporations of the Upper and Lower Valais, consisting of fifty-four parishes, of which the bishop appointed by them is lord; Saint-Gal, Geneva, Neufchatel, Baden, and other cities, imperial and not imperial, which submitted to the Swiss, on condition that their privileges should be preserved: these cities are comprehended in nine bailiwicks.

THE Grisons, of whom we speak at present, inhabit the Alps; and that which is called the Val-teline, which is a valley, or rather a kind of large ditch, lying between the foot of the Alps belonging to Italy, and those on the other side of it; for tho' its length be thirty leagues, or thereabouts, it is not more than one league broad, where its breadth is greatest, from the Tirol to the lake of Coma. All the ground of this valley is watered by the Adda, which runs quite through it, and being increased by the torrents it receives in its passage, is but little less than the Marne, when it discharges itself into the lake

* See Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. and other historians, particularly Vittorio Siri, who treats this point of history very fully. Mem. second. vol. I. p. 369, & seq.

lake of Coma ; it contains about a hundred thousand inhabitants, and is very fruitful in grain, vines, fruit-trees, and pasturage : it is bounded on the east by the earldom of Tirol, to which it is contiguous, but the passages are both narrow and difficult ; on the south by Bresse and Bergame, dependencies on the republic of Venice ; the chain of mountains, which separates it from those two cities, are so steep, and the ground so hard, that it is wholly inaccessible on that side, except by two passages, from Tiron into Bressan, and from Morben into Bergamasque ; a like chain of mountains, inhabited by the Grisons, bounds it on the north. The disposition of this place is such, that there are no passages to enter Italy from those countries which lye to the north of it, but those that lead into this valley, which at the west ends in a plain in the dutchy of Milan, in which runs the lake of Coma, between the Milaneze and the Valteline. This is the place we are about to speak of.

ABOUT six hundred paces from the lake of Coma, Spain had lately built a fort called the fort of Fuentes, from the name of him who was appointed to command it, upon a rock two hundred feet in height, which commanded the whole extent of ground which separates the Milaneze from the Valteline, and which is already but too difficult to pass from the bogs and miry fields. Upon the shore of the lake, which in this place is not above two or three hundred paces in breadth, another fort was built over against the first, but not near so large ; and to close up this passage completely, deep trenches were dug in the space between the bottom of these mountains and the lake. The fortifications of these two castles were very well contrived, being rendered pointed and angular, to suit the form of the rock ; which has this farther advantage, that no cannon from any of the neighbouring places can take a direct aim at it.

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It was not likely that the Grisons would not take umbrage at such an enterprize ; for although the Spaniards appeared, or feigned, to have no thought of these people in building this new work, and to shew they had no design upon any part that did not belong to them, caused some trenches which had been carried too far to be filled up ; yet it was but too apparent, that their view was to endeavour one day to join the states of Italy and Germany, by invading the Valte-line ; and till then, to put an obstacle in this place to the passage of those beyond the Alps into Italy, to cut off all communication between the Swiss and Grisons, and the French their allies, with the republic of Venice ; in a word, to reduce the Grisons to capitulate with them, and acknowledge them for their masters.

SPAIN had already given the Grisons some proofs of this last design. The protestant party had hitherto been most powerful in the three leagues, being established in the most considerable canton, and embraced by persons of the greatest riches and distinction among them ; these were firmly attached to France, and were mortal enemies to Spain : but the differences of religion had as yet given rise to no misunderstanding among these people, because they were sensible their strength consisted in being firmly united : the Spaniards, however, found means to break this union, by sending their usual emissaries, the jesuits and capuchins, into those cantons. These fathers, by persuasions, promises, and bribes, easily succeeded in their design of setting the two parties at variance with each other ; and gave the catholics as great a disgust to the form of government established by their countrymen, as aversion to the religion they professed.

THEIR hatred began first to shew itself in the result of the debates in the assembly of catholics, which was held at Baden, and which for the first time was directly contrary to that of the protestants, who held
a sepa-

a separate one at Arau at the same time. Some demanded, that those persons who had embezzled the money of the republic should be prosecuted, and arrests issued against them: others openly supported those persons: but the catholic party becoming at length the strongest, they proceeded to such extremities with the protestants, as to banish them entirely into some little cantons, under pretence that they intended to deliver their country up to France. This is a thing which France hardly thought of; but she could not be indifferent to what passed there, any more than the republic of Venice, who took an equal interest in these people. The sieur Pascal had been long our ambassador to them; and the Grisons appeared so well satisfied with him that they desired they might have just such another; and as while these good intentions continued, they had also requested that the ambassador might be one capable of teaching them the art of war, we sent them De Vic, with orders to him and Canaye, who resided at Venice in the same quality, to act always in concert with each other.

THE best and shortest method we could have taken, was to support the leagues, in hindering by force the building of the fort of Fuentes, or at least to have furnished them with the means of building one on their side, which would have rendered it useless. They had thought of this themselves; and it would not have been a new thing, if his majesty had given some money to these people: but indeed the Grisons had greatly cooled the zeal of their friends for their interests; they were so far from expressing any gratitude to his majesty for the pensions he distributed amongst them, that they made no other return but complaints of their being injudiciously bestowed, and that this distribution was not referred to their ministers.

THE Venetians were alike discontented with them, upon other accounts, which Canaye communicated to
De

De Vic; and it was highly probable, that the Swiss would serve them no more with their accustomed good-will. The latter had allowed themselves to be allured by the gracious reception their ambassador had met at Milan; and no one, on the other hand, doubted but the five cantons of Lucern, Schwitz, Zug, Vri, and Underwalt, would renew their alliance with the Milanese.

IN opposition to all this, the liberty of the Grisons appeared a sort of point, to every interested party, which ought not to be neglected; nor could the Spaniards hope as yet to complete their design of hoodwinking the eyes of the Helvetic senate, though they supposed it not greatly illuminated with true political principles. In a word, it was at the diet appointed to meet at Coire, June 12, that these great efforts were to make their appearance; and each respective party, who expected the clearing of the whole affair in question, took care to depute a representative worthy to be trusted. Alphonso Cazal came thither in the behalf of count Fuentes: I, by the means of Montmartin, sent letters from his majesty, to De Vic, which, however, never happened to be produced in public, because Canaye declared that the state of Venice, with regard to the Grisons, held sentiments very different from those of the king; and it was a principle inculcated into all our ambassadors, to unite consistently in the same demands. The French and Venetian ambassadors contented themselves with carrying on their point behind the scene, nor did they hardly ever appear to act: their seeming inactivity gave great hopes to count Fuentes; yet all the intrigues and movements of Alphonso Cazal, in conjunction with him, could not support his party from miscarrying. The result of the diet was, that the leagues † would bear no mention of a treaty with Spain, except

† When two or more cantons unite in one common cause, it is called a league.

except the fortress of Fuentes was previously razed, except communication and commerce were rendered free and open; in a word, except all things were reduced to their antient situation. The alliance with France received at the same diet a new confirmation; nevertheless a great distance of space and time was required to pass from such resolutions to actual effects; and the Spaniards had many subterfuges to recur to, by way of amusing the Grisons. Montmartin returned not thence, till he had maturely considered every point that administered matter in these debates, taking a draught at the same time, by my order, both of the fortress and the district round it. I have formed this article upon his representation and memoirs.

A DISPUTE of the same nature with this, but in which his majesty was immediately concerned, arose this year, on account of the bridge of Avignon. This famous bridge was falling into decay for want of some repairs which had a long time been necessary. This delay was occasioned by the particular situation of affairs in France, which left no time for the discussion of a question between the king of France, and the pope, without which these repairs could not be undertaken. The question was this; the pope, in quality of proprietor of Avignon, claimed likewise the proprietorship of this bridge; of the toll and passage of the Rhone, between Avignon and Villeneuve, and consequently of all the privileges annexed to these passes*; therefore the repairing of this bridge was deferred till it was decided, to which of the two, his majesty or the pope, it belonged to do it. The king being desirous that this question should be decided once for all, and falling entirely under my cognizance, it was referred to me, which affords me an opportunity of explaining it to the public.

THE

* Cardinal D'Ossat speaks of it in a manner greatly in favour of the pope, in his letter to M. de Villeroi, of the 2d of June 1603.

THE law received in France, has at no time, granted any claim upon the waters and course of the Rhone to its borderers, though sovereign princes; for of this rank some of them have been, as the prince Dauphin, the duke of Savoy, the count of Provence, and the prince of Orange. The question was reduced to this point, namely, whether the pope, who is one of the borderers, has any right to be excepted from this general rule by any particular concession.

To decide this point, I caused the archives of the monarchy, the antient rights of inheritance, the registers of the seneschal jurisdiction of Nimes, and all the charters of the province to be consulted. I sent commissioners of probity and understanding to the place; and the result of these laborious inquiries was, that the regulations by which rivers are divided between the borderers have no relation to the king of France, and also that he enjoyed a double right with respect to the Rhone, possessing solely as sovereign its bed, the old and new channel, with all the rights annexed to them. Among the provinces through which this river runs, Languedoc has this claim most incontestably established, being an antient fief of the crown, which has never been separated from it, and the counts of Toulouse have always held it in this quality. In this it is different from Dauphiné and Provence, which are acquisitions to the crown: but neither this reason, nor another equally strong, the possibility that the provinces of Dauphiné and Provence might be alienated for an appanage or a portion, could hinder them from being comprehended in the same law with the Rhone, by the right of regale, which our kings could not be deprived of. A great number of edicts which were issued in the mean time in their favour, against the borderers of the Rhone, confirmed this right; and the treaty which was after the last war concluded with the duke of Savoy, established it upon
a solid

a solid foundation. The doubt concerning the pope's interest in Avignon arose from this :

A FUND of four thousand livres was formerly set aside by the kings of France, for making repairs in this bridge. This fund was afterwards relinquished to an order of monks, who make a vow to assist all poor travellers, and called themselves the brothers which served the hospital at the bridge of Avignon, because that hospital joins to the bridge : they were likewise invested with the rights which were to come to the king, on their binding themselves to keep the bridge always in repair. These rectors of the bridge enjoyed a long time these revenues and rights, but took no care to perform the obligations they had entered into. At length this first fund was dissipated and lost, no one knew how ; during which time the officers of his holiness made several different attempts to get possession of the bridge and its rights ; and the best way to effect this, in their opinion, was to make a voluntary offer of being at all the expence of the necessary repairs : they several times attempted to begin the work ; but although his majesty's council did not act with all the spirit they ought to have done upon this step of usurpation, the candidates, however, were always contradicted, and their demands rejected. From all these proofs, his majesty's claim was ascertained.

I CAUSED a definitive arret to be issued, which decided this difference. By this arret, the Rhone and its isles, its ports, tolls, rights, and dependencies, particularly the bridge of Avignon, were declared to belong solely to the king, by the regal rights of the demesne, and the patrimony of the crown. In consequence of this arret, his majesty ordered the repairs of the bridge to be begun, and measures to be taken to recover the first funds, that had been misapplied and lost : and thus was this affair ended, in which the duke of Savoy was almost as much concerned as the pope.

HIS

HIS majesty also made an acquisition of the earldom of Saint-Paul, one of the appanages of the count of Soissons. This prince, being plunged in debts, determined to sell this earldom to satisfy his creditors, who were very pressing for payment: he thought, no doubt, that, after the birth of a son, which his wife had lately brought, he ought not to live any longer in a dissipation of his fortunes: he received, with his usual affectation of gravity and stoicism, the compliments his majesty sent him upon the birth of his son; and afterwards sent Guillouaire to the king, with the offer of his earldom of Saint-Paul. Henry, in this acquisition, first considered his inclinations, and afterwards the inconvenience of doing homage for it, if it passed into the hands of any foreign prince; he therefore heard the count's proposal favourably, and till they could agree upon the price, advanced him a considerable sum of money to free him from the importunity of his creditors.

HIS majesty, who had not yet mentioned this affair to me, wrote to the count of Soissons, and desired him to apply to Caumartin and I, to whom he intended to entrust the management of this purchase; and wrote to me also, to know my opinion of it. I approved of it entirely, and used my utmost endeavours to serve the count of Soissons; but I found it necessary to give great attention to the form in which the purchase was to be made. The affair being protracted to some length, I set out on my journey to Poitou: Henry, in the mean time, listening only to his impatience, and being persuaded that there was no danger to be hazarded by bringing the affair to a speedy conclusion, referred it to messieurs de Bellievre, Villeroi, Sillery, and Maïsse, who settled all matters with the count of Soissons by a bargain of exchange. At my return the king acquainted me with what was done; and seeing me greatly astonished at his precipitation, enquired the cause, reproaching me

me at the same time with the little inclination I discovered for making so fine an acquisition to the crown, which had, from my ancestors, fallen into the possession of the count of Soissons : it was for this very reason that I knew more of the matter than any other person, and I excused myself in the following manner to his majesty.

FROM the time that this earldom had been possessed by the counts of its name, it had been the subject of many debates, whether it should be held of the county of Boulogne, or the county of Artois ; that is to say, of France or Spain. This dispute being of the number of those which it is not easy to decide, it was agreed to in the last treaties made by Francis I. and Henry II. with the kings of Spain, that till the question could be decided, the lords of Saint-Paul should be at liberty to hold it of either of those counties which they should prefer. The succeeding counts of Saint-Paul chose to do homage for it to the county of Artois ; and, by this preference, gave Spain a claim which might furnish a sufficient pretence for re-kindling the war, as soon as the king of France, the possessor of this fief, should declare, that he would hold it for the future of the count of Boulogne, who was himself, for he could not without a kind of dishonour do otherwise. It would have been a melancholy thing, to see the war re-kindled for a trifle of this nature ; and shameful to avoid it, by submitting to do homage to a crown which owed it to France. The king was convinced by my arguments ; and the remedy was, to break the first contract, and sign a second in the name of a third person, and his majesty was not to declare himself till he could do it without any injury to his dignity.

THIS affair was concluded at Fontainebleau, where the king made a long stay this year. He sent for the Dauphin and the rest of the children from Saint-Germain. It was his first design, that the Dauphin should
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not pass through Paris in this journey; but he altered it upon some representations which I made him. The children of France, with madame de Monglat their governess, passed through Paris in their way to Saint-Cloud, and came to Fontainebleau by Savigny.

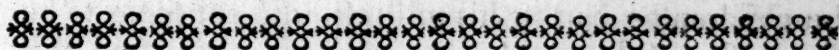
ONE of his majesty's natural sons, who was called Alexander, and had the title of Monsieur, was received into the order of Malta, in compliance with the king's inclinations*. He gave orders, during his stay at Fontainebleau, for his buildings to be begun. The expences of this year were not lessened but increased, by the addition of those sums laid out on the buildings destined for the new manufactures. My part was to obey, and I did it in silence, but with deep regret. I remember only, that seeing at the same time a great number of religious orders† established in France by the pope's commission, I quoted to his majesty the examples of Charlemagne for the first and the Romans for the second.

MAHOMET

* This ceremony was performed in the church of the Temple, in the presence of the legate and ambassadors. The young prince not being able to pronounce the words of the vows, Henry IV. hastily descended from his throne, and made them for him to the grand prior, promising that the prince should ratify them when he should be sixteen years of age. De Thou, book cxxxii.

† Politicians have always made a great outcry against the too great increase of religious orders, and the excessive number of monks in this kingdom. If our kings and our ministers of the greatest abilities have not followed this maxim, it was not owing to their not allowing the force of these reasons, but to their thinking it their duty to give religion the preference to politics; since, if it be true, that monks are useless to the state, it is equally incontestable, that religion would suffer by their suppression. "The man must therefore be either wicked or blind," says cardinal de Richelieu, whose evidence on this subject is less liable to suspicion than M. Sully's, "who does not see and acknowledge, that the religious orders are not only useful but even necessary: as, on the other hand, nothing but too indiscreet a zeal can prevent one from perceiving, that an excess of them is not only inconvenient, but may be even increased to such a degree as to become destructive. What is done for the service of the state is done for the service of God, who is the basis and foundation of it: to reform the religious houses already established, and to stop the too great increase of new foundations, are two things pleasing to God, who desires regularity and order in all things." Political Testament, part I. chap. ii. § 8.

MAHOMET III. dying of the plague, Achmet his son, who succeeded him at fourteen years of age, was obliged to appease the murmurs of the people against the bad government, by banishing his grandmother, who was the cause of it. Sinan Basha, the counsellor of this princess, was cited to give an account of his conduct; but, instead of obeying this order, he fled. Persia, being then at war with this crown, took advantage of these disorders to seize certain towns. The sieur de Salignac was then our ambassador at the Porte.



B O O K XX.

THE process carried on in the parliament, against the counts of Auvergne and Entragues, and the marchioness of Verneuil, terminated in an arret issued the beginning of this year, 1605, by which the two counts were condemned to lose their heads, and the marchioness to be shut up, during the rest of her life, in a cloister. I received the first news of it from the king, who sent for me to acquaint me with the sentence; and, afterwards drawing me aside to the balcony of the first gallery in the Louvre, asked me what impression I thought this treatment would make on the mind of his mistress. I asked his majesty, in my turn, whether in proposing this question, he wished that I should tell him my sentiments freely. "Yes, yes," replied Henry, "do not be apprehensive that I shall be offended; I have been long accustomed to your freedoms." I then told him, that he himself could answer this question better than any other person; for if he gave the marchioness reason to believe that he was wholly cured of his passion, and animated with a just indignation against her, he would see her

have recourse to submission, to prayers and tears to move him ; but, if, on the contrary, he suffered her to suspect that he had acted only under the impression of a mere love quarrel, she would not recede from her former insolence of behaviour.

I AFTERWARDS frankly confessed to Henry, that whichever of these two parts should be taken by madame de Verneuil, I was persuaded the consequence would be still the same, for many reasons, among which, his natural clemency and his consideration for the children he had by his mistress, did not seem to be the least. “ I would have you visit her, said this prince to me ; I want to know what she will say to you, and if she will not employ you as an intercessor for her to me.” I entreated his majesty, with the utmost earnestness, to dispense with me both from the visit and the intercession : I was truly weary of acting a part which had never produced any effect ; and I was unwilling to lose entirely the good opinion of the queen, to whom, notwithstanding I had always supported her interest against her rival, I had been represented as an artful incendiary, and the venal spy and flatterer of Henry. I had proofs, that such insinuations had been given the queen more than a month since ; I told the king so, and named three persons to him who had been the authors of them ; and represented to him, that there wanted only this step, which he required me to take, to deprive me hereafter of all means of serving him with this princess, on occasions which he was sensible recurred but too frequently. Henry contested this point with me a long while, but I prevailed at length, and left to another those infallible means of making court to a prince, but for which I ever had the strongest dislike ; and if I still took any part in the affair, it was only to prevent the conclusion of it from being as shameful for Henry as I foresaw it was likely to be.

THIS

THIS prince did not want courtiers conformable to his taste ; and here the gross fervility of a court was fully displayed. As soon as it was perceived that Henry could neither disengage himself from his mistress, nor rule the queen, this crowd of voluntary slaves to the passions of the sovereign, accommodated their actions, words, and even the air of their countenances, to this disposition : no one dared to contradict either the queen or the marchioness, and only feigned to do so, when the nature of their commission required it ; they but half served his anger, that they might always have their justification ready for both sides. Sigogne had been sent to me, by his majesty, with a very severe order concerning the marchioness, conceived in the strongest terms : he did not scruple to suppress one half of it ; and, what is indeed astonishing, Henry discovered that he did so, told me of it, and yet continued to make use of him. If this prince carried weakness to an extravagant length, his courtiers pushed their flattery still farther ; it was never better known to what degree of ingenuity, and at the same time of fervility, meanness, and wickedness, it could attain.

No one was deceived as to the manner in which Henry treated the marchioness of Verneuil ; but it was matter of general surprise, to find that the lenity shewn her extended to the two other criminals, whom the public voice had already condemned to the same punishment which marechal Biron had suffered : the count d'Auvergne's sentence * was commuted

* " The king changed this punishment, says Bassompierre, to an imprisonment for life, partly in consideration of madame d'Angoulême, who most earnestly begged it of him, but more for a reason he gives us, which is, that the late king Henry III. his predecessor, had, on his death-bed, recommended only the count of Auvergne, and M. le Grand to his favour ; and he would therefore not have it said, that he put a man to death, who had been so affectionately recommended to him, by the person from whom he had received the kingdom." Vol. I. p. 165. But neither M.

commuted into a perpetual imprisonment in the Baille, where for once he had leisure to grow weary † of confinement : that of the lady's father, into a banishment to his own estates : and as for her, she had a full pardon ‡, and even dictated the conditions herself.

THE affair between the king and the marchioness could not be terminated in this manner, without creating new quarrels between this prince and the queen, to whom this late instance of tenderness and consideration in the king her husband for his faithless mistress afforded sufficient matter for rage and exclamation : it was absolutely necessary she should be appeased, and Henry was obliged to have recourse to me on this occasion. No labour, no fatigue was equal to this ; every moment there were new expressions to explain, new actions to justify, new interests to conciliate ; it was the business of the night as well as the day, to compose these differences : no sooner did a calm appear, than a storm arose immediately after, which brought every thing back to its former state. At my return from the Limosin, at the end of the year, I found more unhappiness at Fontainebleau than there had ever been before : what could be done, in an evil
fo

de Sully, nor Henry IV. himself, when conversing with his minister on this subject, makes the least mention of this motive.

† He came out of his prison in the next reign. He was seventy-one years of age, when, in 1644, he took for his second wife mademoiselle de Nargonne ; and, as this lady did not die till 1713, aged ninety-two years, it made a kind of chronological paradox, that a daughter-in-law should die an hundred and forty years after her father-in-law.

‡ “ The king, says Perefice, permitted the marchioness to retire to Verneuil, and seven months having passed without the attorney-general's finding any evidence against her, by the king's order she was declared guiltless of the crime whereof she was accused. He also, says the Mercure François, dispensed with her personal attendance on the parliament to get her letters of pardon registered, which were allowed by the parliament on the 6th of September.” See the particulars of this process in M. De Thou, ann. 1605. Siri, *ibid.* p. 299, and other historians.

so irremediable, than to deplore it in silence; and this was the method I pursued. I collected all the letters the king had written to me upon this subject, and suffered none to remain in the hands of my secretaries, from whom I concealed, for the future, what the king imparted to me in confidence, whatever instances they might make me. One of these letters of most consequence, I snatched from a secretary of mine, who had begun to read it in a little summer-house, where I sent him to search for some papers. I act upon the same plan at present with the public, to whom I do not communicate all these little quarrels, which they would find a needless repetition of disputes, reproaches, jealousies, and violent designs, of which the reader is, I believe, already sufficiently weary.

FROM the disposition the count of Auvergne was known to be of, it was believed he would not be very easy under his confinement in the Bastile, nor d'Entragues relish the inactive life he was compelled to in spite of himself. It was discovered, six months afterwards, that the count had concerted with his father-in-law, who apparently found the secret of getting intelligence even in his prison, the means of escaping from the Bastile. It was a rope-maker, who gave information of this design, and supported his evidence with so many proofs, that, upon his report, the grand prevot, searching the wood of Maleherbes, found the cords, pullies, and other engines, with which the projected escape was to be effected; for which d'Entragues was afterwards arrested, and obliged to go through an examination at his own house. He alledged, that he was not obliged to answer the grand prevot; there was a necessity therefore for forcing him to it by a special commission, which his majesty sent for that purpose, from the province where he then was.

IN the mean time, d'Entragues composed a kind
of

of case, written and signed by his own hand, to justify his proceedings, and expected that this would acquit him. This piece, for its artful turn, and the specious manner in which he glossed over his conduct, was well worthy of its author: yet, with all his subtilty of reasoning, he could not clear himself of the principal charge, nor explain to his advantage, the meaning of the cords and machines found in the woods of Maleherbes. He defended himself much worse when, notwithstanding this paper, he found himself obliged to go through an examination: he maintained, with great obstinacy, that no bad intention could be proved against him, by the discovery of those cords and pullies. The grand prevot omitted no part of his duty upon this occasion; he took care to keep all the domestics of d'Entragues separate, that they might have no opportunity to consult either with their master, or with one another. But notwithstanding the rage Henry appeared to be in, yet, through the whole procedure against the criminal, something so favourable was perceived, that he had no great reason to be apprehensive, altho' the rope-maker furnished all the proofs that were necessary to convict him, and heavily accused among others a man named Giez: yet they chose to believe the accused person, upon his bare word, that he was absolutely ignorant of every thing: and he was not so much as imprisoned. I was at my government while this affair was in agitation, but sent orders from thence to my lieutenant in the Bastile, to confine the count of Auvergne more closely than ever; which was all that this plot produced.

I PROCEED now to the conclusion of another affair, which was begun and almost finished during the preceding year: this was the entire restoration of the jesuits. These fathers, whatever instances of kindness they received from the king, thought
nothing

nothing was granted while the pillar*, raised upon the foundation of Chatel's house, still remained. His majesty, persecuted with prayers and entreaties upon this article, consented at last that it should be referred to his council. I thought, and several others were of the same opinion, that the society had no reason to complain of ill treatment, if the council

* This pyramid, about twenty feet high, and tolerably well built, stood opposite to the palace, there being only the street betwixt them; over the pedestal, on each of its four sides, was a plate of black marble, having the arret of the parliament (beforementioned, in speaking of the process against John Chatel) engraven on them, with some inscriptions, conceived in terms the most injurious to the jesuits. We do not think it necessary to recite these inscriptions, which are preserved in the memoirs of the league, vol. VI. D'Aubigné, vol. III. b. iv. chap. 4. The royal MSS. vol. 9033, where the French translation of them made at that time may also be seen, as well as in divers other writings.

M. de Thou's works, and the *Mercure François*, which may also be consulted touching the demolition of this pyramid, anno 1605, agree with M. de Sully, that it became a kind of justice, to deface these inscriptions, when the jesuits were restored, the two arrets being contradictory to one another: but they also observe, that the destruction of it occasioned a violent outcry, it being thrown down at noon-day, in the month of May, by the lieutenant-civil, sent for that purpose by the king, and a fountain was built in its place: "The order for it," says Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. p. 683, "was directed to M. de Sully, as surveyor-general. The most valuable of the statues belonging to it were carried to the grottoes of Saint-Germain."

The enemies of the jesuits gratified their revenge, by publishing numberless pamphlets, both in verse and prose, containing the most virulent reflections on every thing that passed on this occasion, which the reader ought not to expect to find here. Prompted by their malice, they laid a great stress on a circumstance happening merely from chance, or perhaps having no foundation at all in truth, which was, that, in taking down the four figures, representing the cardinal virtues, which stood on the four corners of the pyramid over the inscriptions, they began with that of justice. The print of this pyramid, which till that time had been sold by John Le Clerc, by the king's licence, was afterwards sought after with the utmost eagerness; but Henry IV. sent for the plate, about three months only before he was assassinated. Most of the inscriptions with which the pyramid was decorated, and the destruction of which messieurs De Thou, De Serres, Mezerai, and some other historians have so much lamented, were composed by Joseph Scaliger, too good a protestant not to be an inveterate enemy to the jesuits society. *Mem. chronol. & dogmat.* vol. I. p. 30.

council came to no other resolution about it, than to erase the inscription upon this pillar, which was indeed too severe: but they knew so well how to gain over the greatest part of those who composed the council to their side, that they obtained an arret such as they desired.

I CANNOT admit, that my conduct on this occasion, could merit the whole weight of the jesuits indignation: however, my ruin appeared to these fathers, and to the three especially who played the greatest game at the court, to be of such consequence to religion, the common cause, and their own particular interest, that it was resolved to effect it if possible. With the three jesuits, a like number of the principal lords of the court associated themselves whom I shall name no more. All that was now necessary, was to recal to their minds the former notions of the league, of which the name indeed, but not the spirit nor the policy, was banished the court: they found no difficulty to increase their party considerably, in a very short time, with all the voluptuaries of the court, whose soft and effeminate lives it was owned I had censured with more imprudence than injustice. The jesuits by making themselves useful to their associates, drew great advantages from them; so that, in a little time, a great number of colleges were founded in many of the chief cities in the kingdom, and endowed with very considerable revenues.

THEY did not, however, succeed every where with equal facility: The people of Troyes, Rheims, and Langres, did not receive the offers they made them of their services very favourably. They were obliged therefore to have recourse to letters from his majesty: the fathers Cotton and Gauthier were employed to ask them of the king, in whom so many petitions, one after the other, sometimes occasioned a little reflection. He told them, that he was very willing to gratify all their desires, but that he feared they

they would, at last, endanger the royal authority : he brought Poitiers* for an example, where, notwithstanding the mandates they had obtained from him, yet they had laboured for two years ineffectually, to procure a settlement in that city, though at the same time, it had solicited that a royal college might be founded there. Father Cotton replied, that nothing could be inferred from the behaviour of the inhabitants of Poitiers, which could affect the other cities, because they would not be so unfortunate as to be opposed by persons so powerful, so respected in the province, nor even so much favoured by his majesty, as their enemies of Poitiers were.

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* What the author here says of the difficulty the jesuits found to gain a reception in Poitiers, is the more surprising, as the Septenary reckons this city by name, amongst the number of those who desired to have the jesuits with them, fol. 438. Matthieu counts twenty of these cities, and Poitiers as one of them; "because, says he, their colleges, and their manner of instructing their scholars, were better than any others." Vol. II. b. iii. p. 606 and 686. If I did not see that the bishop and treasurers of France were named here, I should conclude, that what M. de Sully calls the city, and the greatest part of the citizens, meant only the Calvinists, who perhaps in fact were the greatest part. The bishop of this city, who was particularly intimate with that minister, as appears from both their letters, mentioned in these Memoirs, as well as a great number of the inhabitants of it, even catholics, might, perhaps from motives of policy, oppose the establishment of the jesuits, being persuaded they should by that means, make their court to the governor of the province, though he did not openly require it of them: on principles like these, men frequently act and form their conduct in life, to the disgrace and at the expence of the religion they profess. This notion, not entirely without foundation, may, in some degree, point out to us what may be said in defence, or at least in justification, of father Cotton, touching the difference between M. de Sully and him, which the author here begins to relate. It may also be applied to the complaints these Memoirs, a little lower, put into the mouth of the people at Poitiers, that the jesuits, having at last been admitted there, the college in that city, from being a good one, as it was before, immediately became good for nothing; and that the success those fathers met with proceeded entirely from the difference they occasioned between the two parties. These two or three articles have a natural relation to each other; and one may also add to them, the opposition the city of Metz made against receiving the jesuits, which will also be mentioned below.

THE king had not here any occasion for all that penetration on which he sometimes valued himself, which enabled him to discover by the gestures only, and the turn of the countenance, of those who spoke to him, all that passed in their hearts †. He answered the father, that he perfectly understood what he had else to say, but that it was a mere calumny, for which he had no other foundation, than some reports that had been made him; for that having spoke to me himself of this matter before, I was so far from discovering such intentions as were attributed to me, that I had assured him I would raise no obstacles to their attempts; and that I would give them my assistance. “Ah! sire, replied the father, God keep me from
“offending in any manner those you love, and by
“whom you think yourself so faithfully served; I
“will love them and serve them myself: but if your
“majesty has any inclination to be convinced of the
“truth by incontestible proofs, nothing is more easy
“than to produce such as shall leave no doubt of the
“certainty of what I have had the honour to tell
“you.” The king asked with still greater earnestness, if he was sure he could prove what he had advanced? The father again confirmed it. “Well,” said Henry, leaving him, “I will consider of this
“matter.” And he sent for me that instant.

As soon as I came to the Tuilleries, Henry took me by the hand and led me into the orangerie, where, as we walked, he asked me, as if without any design, how the affair went on at Poitiers, concerning the jesuits founding a college there. I replied, that I was wholly ignorant of their proceedings, having resolved not to concern myself with them, for those considerations I had mentioned to his

† Matthieu has observed the same thing of Henry IV. “He could form a judgment, says he, of a man’s actions and words, from his look and manner.” Vol. II. b. iv. p. 807.

his majesty. "Think well what you say, replied this prince, for they would persuade me that it is you alone who prevent their establishment in that city." I assured him, with an oath, that I had never, directly nor indirectly, opposed their settling there, nor even expressed the least dislike to it." "Well, said the king, since it is so, take no notice of this matter to any one." On his entrance again into the Louvre, he took father Cotton aside: "Who has told you these idle tales of M. de Rosny?" said he, "they are absolutely false, as I indeed suspected they were." "They will not be found so," replied the father; and for a proof of his assertion, told him, that I had written several letters to the bishop of Poitiers, the treasurers of France in that city, to Saint-Marthe, and others, with whom I could do any thing; expressly ordering them to oppose the settling of the jesuits there. He added, that he had seen these letters himself; and that they were in the hands of a man of strict honour, who had allowed him to read them. "Can you shew me these letters?" said the king. "Yes, sire, replied the jesuit, whenever your majesty pleases." The king, who till now had suspended his belief, could not for this once hinder himself from being influenced to my prejudice. "I will talk to you to-morrow, said he to the father, and give you all the necessary orders upon this affair."

I CAME the next morning to the Tuilleries at eight o'clock, the king having sent me orders to attend him very early: he talked to me of the usual dispatches and the present affairs; then taking me again into the orangerie, I guessed immediately, by the very turn of his countenance, part of what he was going to say to me. "You know, said he, how much I love you, but you likewise know how much I love truth and hate all insincerity: you have used it with me; and although I never
"conceal

“ conceal any of my secrets from you, you have disguised with me, in the answer you gave me to the question I asked you concerning the jesuits. I am not offended at your conduct in that affair : as they never discovered any great friendship for you, it could not therefore be expected that you should become their advocate ; but I am grieved to find that you are capable of dissimulation, you who profess to be a lover of truth and sincerity.”

My astonishment was so great that I listened to the king in a profound silence ; at length, recovering myself, “ Sire, said I, this is one of the blackest impostures that ever was invented ; the only favour I implore is, that you will insist upon a free explanation of this matter. If the jesuits can prove their accusation to be true, inflict what punishment you please upon me, I shall never complain ; but if it is found to be false, suffer me, sire, I most humbly implore you, to do myself public justice, that I may prevent such designs from being undertaken against me for the future ; for if there is a necessity for my being continually employed in defending my conduct, it will be no longer possible for me to attend to state affairs, the number and weight of which are already more than I can well bear.” “ What !” interrupted the king, “ have you not written any thing against the jesuits, and prevented their founding a college at Poitiers ? Think a little and refresh your memory, that you may not engage to maintain any thing of which the contrary may be proved against you.” “ No, sire, I replied, I swear by my God and all my hopes of salvation, that what I say is true.” “ What malignant minds are these,” pursued the king, moved with a just indignation, “ which can never cease to envy virtue, or be weary of their fruitless attempts to ruin those who are faithful to my service ;

“ service; leave this affair to me, continued he, I
“ will search it to the bottom, and discover, if possi-
“ ble, both its source and its authors.”

HE left me at these words to go and hear mass at the convent of the Capuchins, where he knew he should find father Cotton; and, calling him, renewed the discourse of the preceding days, and asked for the letters which he said he had seen. “ Those letters,
“ fire, said the father, are in the hands of a person of
“ honour, and I will answer for the truth of what that
“ person said, as well as that the letters he shewed me
“ are genuine.” “ It is enough, returned the king,
“ but go and bring them to me that I may see them;
“ I know his hand-writing and his signature as well as
“ my own, having received more than two thousand
“ letters from him in my life.” The father, perplexed by so unseasonable an order, endeavoured to elude it, by appealing to his majesty’s knowledge of his veracity, and his aversion to all kinds of falsehood. “ I am
“ willing to believe you, said this prince to him; but
“ I would also have others believe you, by shewing
“ them these letters; therefore do not fail, pursued
“ he in a severe tone, to bring them to me, for I am
“ determined to see them, that I may convict of ma-
“ lice and fraud those who are really guilty. Go, and
“ return again immediately.”

THERE was no reply to be made to an order so positive; the father retired with a low reverence; but the king expected him in vain all the remainder of that day: he apologized for it the next morning, on account of the absence of the person who was possessed of these letters. But there was a necessity to find another excuse for returning without them, which would cost the father much more. He told the king, that this nobleman’s valet de chambre had unfortunately thrown those letters into the fire with other papers. But for want of the letters, he brought a thousand new assurances of the truth of what he
had

had advanced. The king, however, was not disposed to pay himself with that sort of coin: "How!" said he, interrupting him, in a rage, "have they burned these letters? this is not to be believed." And perceiving that father Cotton, who was sensible this affair would not rest as it was, equivocated in his answers, and seemed desirous that nothing more should be said of it, he quitted him in disgust. "Rosny," said he, approaching and taking me aside, "your letters have been burnt."

I CAME again to his majesty, to propose an expedient to him which I thought would entirely silence my accuser; this was, to prevail upon the king to write to the bishop of Poitiers, and the officers of that city, to produce all the letters they had received from me; and to write to them myself in the clearest manner upon the subject. I carried with me all the originals of these letters, in which his majesty found nothing to take offence at: he ordered his secretaries to write those letters, which were to be in his name, immediately; and sent them to Poitiers in the same packet with mine, by a courier named Constant. Upon the receipt of these letters, the bishop and the magistrates of the city sent the sieur de La-Parisiere to give his majesty all the informations he desired. La-Parisiere, in the name of all his fellow-citizens, attested, with regard to me, that they had always considered my letters as written with favourable intentions towards the jesuits; and presented to the king all they had been able to collect.

AMONG a great number which related only to the affairs of the province, four were found in which the jesuits were mentioned; three of these letters, directed to Saint-Marthe the lieutenant-general, and to his brother, separately, and the office of the finances, were copies of each other; and after other matters were discussed, concluded with these words: "With regard to the jesuits college, I know not why you make so many difficulties about that, and
" persist

“ persist in your solicitations for the royal college, of
 “ which you have written to me, since you know, as
 “ La-Parisiere has often told you from me, that you
 “ will never obtain of the king what is necessary for
 “ it, and that he absolutely commands the other should
 “ be allowed ; it is your part therefore to act pru-
 “ dently, and do that with a good grace, which in the
 “ end you will be obliged to do whether willing or
 “ not : be it your care only, upon receiving them, to
 “ make such regulations as may not leave it in their
 “ power to disturb the tranquillity of the city or pro-
 “ vince ; or make any alteration in that union
 “ maintained at present between the two religions,
 “ that the king may be served with duty and af-
 “ fection by all.”

THE fourth letter, addressed to the bishop of Poi-
 tiers, is yet stronger : after some business and some com-
 pliments, which made up the first part of it, the king
 read these words : “ I always doubted, that the jesuits
 “ would not find people as kind and charitable in ac-
 “ tions as in words : for my own part, if the province
 “ is willing they should have a settlement in it, and
 “ that they will resolve to live quietly there, without
 “ embittering the minds of the people, or doing any
 “ thing to disturb that harmony which at present sub-
 “ sists between the two religions, I should be glad to
 “ see them in my government, and will do them all
 “ the service I can ; but if they foment divisions there,
 “ or give rise to any jealousies and distrusts, I had ra-
 “ ther they were any where else.”

THE king's courier, as he passed through Paris,
 which his majesty had just quitted and set out for Fon-
 tainebleau, left me a particular answer to the letter I
 had written to the bishop of Poitiers, of which these
 are the contents : That father Mouffy, the jesuit,
 had brought him a letter from father Cotton, in
 which this father mentioned certain letters, supposed
 to be written by me to him, against the establishment
 and

and honour of the society, and the complaints which this father, believing them to be true, had made of me to his majesty. The bishop added, that after reading this letter, he had obliged father Mouffy to own, that his brother had been greatly to blame to believe a matter of such consequence so lightly; and acted still more imprudently to write it, and bring it to the ears of the king: that father Mouffy had seen all the letters, and found nothing in them which could authorize such an accusation, and undertook to undeceive father Cotton, by acquainting him with what he had seen.

THE bishop of Poitiers, who really believed the existence of this imaginary letter of accusation against me, which father Cotton had told him in his had been sent from Poitiers, and who thought, probably, that it would do both me and him service to discover the author of it, sent me word, that he would use his utmost endeavours to find it out; and that he had been told, the preceding day, that it was signed Guillaume; but that no person knew better than father Cotton himself; for although, as he was likewise informed, it was that father who had thrown this letter into the fire, yet he could not have forgot the superscription of it: the bishop's letter is dated March 23, 1605. I shewed it to Sillery, who set out for Panfou, from whence he went to Fontainebleau, to make his report to his majesty: but the king ordered me to bring this letter to him at Fontainebleau, together with the copies of those which had been sent me from Poitiers. I perceived that this new proof of my sincerity had increased his esteem for me.

THE next day he sent for Richelieu and Pont-Courlay, and asked them if they knew who it was that had suggested to father Cotton the complaints he had made against me; and whether they had any share in it; They replied, that very far from engag-
ing

ing themselves in the affair, they had earnestly advised father Cotton never to mention to the king those letters, whether supposititious, or written by some impostor under a feigned name; because that if his majesty gave credit to my words in matters wherein my religion might render me suspected, he had much more reason to believe me, rather than those idle reports received to my prejudice. The king answered, that they must prevail upon me to use the same moderation in this business as they had advised father Cotton to, and prevent, said he, all occasions of misunderstanding between my faithful servants, as well in political as ecclesiastical affairs. He permitted them, if they could not by any other means reconcile us to each other, to throw part of the blame upon himself.

I SUBMITTED with a good grace to this reconciliation: after the two agents had assured me father Cotton had no intention to injure me, they intreated me to allow the father to wait on me, and assure me of the truth himself. I consented, and they brought him the next day. This father told me, that it was true, he had complained of having a secret enemy, who opposed the establishment of a college at Poitiers, but that he had not thought of me. However, his majesty had understood that he meant me, and made me believe so likewise: that although in this whole affair there was only a mistake, yet he was extremely afflicted that it had given me any disturbance, the remembrance of which he would endeavour to efface by the most faithful services. In this manner was an affair concluded, which had given both parties a great deal of trouble.

IT was probably in consequence of this reconciliation, that father Richeome of Bourdeaux presented me, at the close of this year, by father Cotton himself, a book of his writing, with a most flattering dedication to me: he takes notice in this dedication, that although this book could not be very agreeable
to

to the professors of my religion (for it treated of the pilgrimage to Loretto) yet he made no scruple to offer it me, and did not doubt of its being favourably received, on account of my attachment to the king (to whom indeed the highest elogiums were given in it :) to this motive he added a second, which was purely of his own invention, that he had been assured I felt in myself a strong disposition to embrace the Roman catholic faith, a disposition which increased every day ; and reminded me of a little present he had made me the preceding year, which was a book, intituled, “ The Apologetic Remonstrance of the Jesuits to the King.*” I told him, in my answer, that knowing myself to be capable of loving even my enemies, his society might from thence judge what were my sentiments concerning those who professed themselves my friends. I returned him compliments for compliments, wishes for wishes, and even book for book ; for I sent him the journey to Jerusalem, in return for that of Loretto.

If any one doubts that these professions of esteem which were made me by the Jesuits were not sincere, let him suspend his judgment for a moment, and he will know what to ascribe them to ; I will not omit any circumstances of the fact I am going to relate, as I do not imagine they will seem tedious to the reader, since they concern persons so distinguished at court as the duke of Epernon, and Grillon †, colonel of a regiment of guards.

GRILLON

* This is the last of that father's works against Antony Arnaud : he wrote many books with great success on behalf of his order.

† Lewis Berto de Crillon or Grillon, a gentleman of Avignon, as remarkable on account of the peculiarities in his temper as his intrepidity, which had procured him the name of Dread-nought. I find in the life of the duke of Epernon a story very proper to be related along with what the duke of Sully tells us of this gentleman. “ The duke of Guise, to whom he had been sent after the reduction of Marseilles, having a mind to try his courage, says the historian, agreed with some gentlemen, to give a sudden alarm before Grillon's quarters, as if the enemy had been masters of the town ; at the same time he ordered two horses to the door ; and
“ going

GRILLON had at first the same unfavourable sentiments for me with which almost all the courtiers were tainted ; but after a little adventure which happened at the siege of Charbonnieres, during the war with Savoy, his friendship for me became stronger than his hatred had ever been. Grillon, at that time, was quartered at Aiguebelle, a little town at the bottom of a fort, where he commanded our foot, and often came to visit the quarter of the artillery, where I was ; he happened one day to be with me in a meadow, from whence I was observing a ravelin which I wanted to have battered down ; and myself, and those that accompanied me, were within reach of a battery, from whence the discharges began to be so frequent, that I resolved to defer doing the business I was about till a fitter opportunity, when we needed not uselessly endanger our lives. “ How !
“ Morbieu,

“ going up into Grillon’s room, told him all was lost ; that the enemy
“ were masters of the port and town ; that they had forced the guards,
“ and broke and put to flight all that opposed them ; that finding it
“ impossible to resist them any longer, he thought it was better for
“ them to retreat, than by suffering themselves to be taken, add to
“ the enemy’s victory ; that he had therefore ordered two horses to
“ be brought, which were ready at the door ; and desired he would
“ make haste, for fear they should give the enemy time to surprize
“ them. Grillon was asleep when the alarm was given, and was
“ hardly awake whilst the duke of Guise was saying this to him.
“ However, without being at all disconcerted by so hot an alarm, he
“ called for his cloaths and his arms, saying, That they ought not, on
“ too slight grounds, to give credit to all that was said of the enemy ;
“ and, even if the account should prove true, it was more becoming
“ men of honour to die with their arms in their hands, than to survive
“ the loss of the place. The duke of Guise, not being able to
“ prevail on him to change this resolution, followed him out of the
“ room ; but when they were got half way down stairs, not being able
“ to contain himself any longer, he burst out a laughing ; by which
“ Grillon discovered the trick that had been played him. He thereupon
“ assumed a look much sterner than when he only thought of going to
“ fight, and squeezing the duke of Guise’s hand, said to him, swearing
“ at the same time (for he always began his discourse with the most horrible
“ oaths) Young man, never make it a jest to try the courage of a
“ man of honour ; for, by God ! hadst thou made me betray any weakness,
“ I would have plunged my dagger in thy heart : and then left
“ him, without saying a word more.” Page 176.

“Morbieu, my grand master,” said Grillon to me, “with an air and tone of voice peculiar to him, “are you afraid of guns in the company of Grillon? Arnidieu! since I am here they will not dare to come nigh us; let us go to those trees I see about two hundred paces from hence, we may reconnoitre the ravelin there with less danger.” “Let us go then,” replied I smiling, since we are trying who shall shew himself most mad: but since you are the oldest, I would willingly allow you to be the wisest also.” Probably I should have done better to have paid no attention to what he said; however, I took his hand, and led him so far beyond the trees he had pointed to, that the bullets began to whistle strongly in our ears. “Arnidieu! said Grillon, these rogues have no regard to the grand master’s baton, or the cross of the Holy Ghost, and may probably lame us; let us gain that range of trees and those hedges, which may shelter us; for, par-la-corbieu, you are an honest fellow, and worthy to be grand master: I will, during my whole life, be one of the most faithful of your servants; let us vow an inviolable friendship to each other; do you promise me yours?” I took his hand, which he held out to me in token of union; and from that moment he continued to love me with a greater affection than he had ever shewn to any other person whatever, not even, as it was said, to the king himself; and this adventure, which had given rise to it, he talked of to every one.

By what means I regained the duke of Epernon’s friendship has been already mentioned. About the beginning of the year, he came to me and desired that I would direct his appointments, as colonel of a regiment of guards, to be paid him in ready money. I represented to him, that he had been paid already all he could with reason demand upon that account; and that what he farther required, was but a possession without a claim, or rather an usurpation, which
his

his favour with Henry the third had given him an opportunity of committing (for this was a discovery I had lately made) and that I was resolved to cut it off for the future, unless he brought me an order from the king, by which this supplement was granted him in the manner of a gratuity. D'Epernon, offended at this discourse, complained to the king, and endeavoured to persuade him that I was become his enemy. His majesty, to undeceive him, reminded him of the council held at Blois, wherein I opposed the advice given by the count de Soissons, to arrest him with marechal Birron. This circumstance, which D'Epernon had never before been acquainted with, made a great impression upon his mind. "Do you assure me, Sire, said he to the king, that it was from M. de Rosny I received this act of friendship." "Yes, I assure you of it," replied this prince, for I am not used to lie, especially in things of consequence."

D'EPERNON left Fontainebleau the same day, and set out for Paris in a hired coach, having sent one of his own before to Essonne, where it was to wait for him; I had left Paris in the same manner, his majesty having sent for me to Fontainebleau: d'Epernon and I met each other in a place over against a chapel above Essonne; the duke ordered his coachman to stop, and called out to me, that he entreated I would give him an opportunity to say one word to me: we both alighted. "I have too long," said he, approaching me, "been under a great obligation to you, without paying you those acknowledgments you merit from me." He then repeated what the king had just told him, and in the transport of his gratitude, loaded me with praises, and assurances of the most inviolable friendship. I replied, with my usual sincerity, that he was under no obligation to me, on account of the circumstance he mentioned, since it was the business of every honest man to take the part of innocence, exclusive of
of

of all interest and views of any kind ; and that hereafter he would be still better convinced, that all my intentions, with respect to him, had been equitable, and more so than he had sometimes believed. This affair produced such a perfect good intelligence between us, that eight days after, being upon the point of setting out for Guienne, d'Epéron made me a visit to request one of those little favours of me, with which a man takes pleasure to oblige his friends.

THE duke had been informed that some persons, who were enemies to him, earnestly solicited Grillon to resign his colonel's commission, in favour of another whom he had likewise as little reason to love ; and, knowing that Grillon was wholly governed by my advice, he entreated me to prevent his resigning this post till he returned from Guienne : and this I promised him. During d'Epéron's absence, his majesty was told some things to his disadvantage, which determined him to give the post to a man who was not so much devoted to the duke d'Epéron as Grillon : it was not with this view, that the affair was proposed to Grillon from the king, but because he, in reality, was not very diligent in the exercise of this employment, and was soon to take a journey to Provence, where his stay was likely to be very long. He was given to understand, that it was for these two reasons his majesty wished he would dispose of this employment, and promised to procure him a good price for it.

GRILLON, singular and fantastic to the last degree, and already a little distempered in his brain, only shook his head, without answering the three first times that they mentioned the king's intentions to him. He afterwards suspected, that it was I whom the king had in view to succeed to his employment ; and when he came to take leave of me, asked me if it was so, making me, at the same time, many offers of service : it was with great difficulty that I could put this notion out of his head, and was obliged to

to tell him, that I would not accept of this employment, although it should be given me for nothing. "How! returned Grillon immediately, sure you do not think an employment which Grillon has possessed unworthy of you; Arnidieu, my grand master, you are very vain, for since I have filled it, it is worthy the best of you." "I know, replied I, that one Grillon is of more value than a thousand Rosnys; but I have other reasons which hinder me from thinking of it. "Oh, very well, that is enough," said he: and then, without my solicitation, engaged not to resign it till I should advise him to it, and then only to that person who should be agreeable to me: and from this time, he would not give a serious answer to any of the proposals that were made him on this subject.

At length the king was obliged to talk to him himself; he sent for him, and repeated the same arguments which were used to him before to prevail upon him to resign a post, the duties of which were incompatible with the long stay he proposed to make in his native country, adding a thousand kind and obliging things upon the valour and services of Grillon. "By what I can understand, Sire, replied Grillon, you want me to quit your service, and that I should become absolutely papistical: for you know I am born a subject of the pope." "Ah no, Grillon, replied his majesty, that is not my intention:" then adding new reasons drawn from the nature of his employment, "So then in good earnest, said Grillon to him again, you would have me resign my employment: and since it is your desire, I will not do it, at least to the person for whom I hear it is designed."

THIS speech indeed was no great indication of a sound mind; he withdrew in a rage, but the king who knew his humour, only laughed at him: he even took a resolution to speak to him no more of the matter, so little was this prince inclined to use any restraint

restraint to persons who had served him faithfully. But happening to mention this little extravagance of Grillon before Roquelaure, Zamet, Piles, Fortia, and some other captains of the regiment of guards, one of them said, that there were but two ways to render Grillon tractable, which were, to employ d'Epernon in the affair, and to tell him that it was for me, and in my name, that he asked him for his post. The king replied, that he would never dispose of it, at the solicitation of the duke d'Epernon; neither did he desire that I should accept of it: but that he believed I would not refuse to entreat Grillon to yield it to the person he had in view. His majesty did not name this person, but only added, that he was worthy of it by his abilities, and rich enough to give Grillon a good recompence for it. Henry then ordered Piles, Fortia, and Zamet, to come to me and propose it as a thing that would be very agreeable to him, but without owning that they had his orders for mentioning it.

At first I made no other answer to these gentlemen, than that I had private reasons for not meddling in the affair; but upon their pressing me to disclose these reasons, I informed them with my usual sincerity, of the engagement I had entered into with the duke d'Epernon, which was, as I may say, the pledge of our reconciliation. When these words were related to the king, he was immediately seized with so violent a transport of rage against me, that, as he afterwards owned to me, he never remembered to have borne me so much ill-will before: doubtless the occasion would appear very slight, if I did not, at the same time, inform the reader that it was in this year, and at this very time, that my enemies had then actually given me the severest blow they had ever aimed against me, and brought me, in reality, within an inch of my ruin, or at least of my dismissal from my employ-
ments,

ments, to the last of which I think I should have readily submitted. Libels, letters, informations, malicious insinuations, atrocious calumnies, all that envy could suggest most injurious and most horrid, had been practised, and still continued to be practised every day against me, all which I shall particularise hereafter: for the present it is sufficient to say, that the poison had been so subtilly applied, that the king, although he had long been aware of the malice of my enemies, had not been able to avoid being tainted with it, and it had reached even to his heart.

I SHALL not here use the ordinary style of those who have suffered such trials, when they exclaim with so much vehemence, against the ingratitude and injustice they have met with from princes; I always suspect that such outcries proceed either from great vanity, or great ignorance of the human heart. To make calumny against the absent successful, nothing more is requisite than to find the means of opening the mind to suspicion, and to those, who, having every thing to govern and direct, have likewise every thing to foresee and to fear, innumerable arguments will occur to keep alive and justify this suspicion. How many appearances of fidelity are there so well disguised, that truth itself could hardly assume any other face, especially before kings, from whom one would imagine she delights to conceal herself? But are there not many ministers likewise, who from being loyal and affectionate, have become traitors to their sovereigns? To all these considerations, Henry, on his side, added a too curious and too active research into all possible contingencies, wherein, for the present or the future any danger to the state might be apprehended; and I, on mine too little solicitude to lessen his suspicion, which was not so much the effect of indifference, as the mark of a conscience clear and ir-

reproachable : it is not surprising therefore, that the artifices of my enemies had made so deep an impression on the mind of Henry. However, I have always, after this, laid it down for a maxim, that any sovereign who imagines such a conduct necessary to support his interests and authority, takes the direct method to ruin both, by lessening himself that respect and deference which he ought to oblige his subjects to shew to those to whom he has confided those interests, and by whom that honour is maintained.

WHEN the three men, whom the king had employed in the affair of Grillon, had acquainted him with what I had said, which had occasioned those transports of rage against me, Villeroi, Sillery, La Varenne, and father Cotton, came very seasonably for him to discharge this heavy burthen upon. I had no reason to think, that this accidental meeting was a favourable effect of the influence of my stars ; for he repeated my words to them, and his own sentiments upon them, with the most violent emotions of rage. “ How ! ” said he to them, perceiving that they made him no answer, “ you are silent, you say not a word ; but by “ heaven, pursued he, all this looks ill ; for since “ fire and water mingle so well together (it was “ d’Epernon and me whom he meant) there must “ be higher designs, at least on one side, than I could “ ever have imagined ; but I shall take care to prevent them.” It was absolutely in the power of those four persons, to whom the king addressed this discourse, to prevent these suspicions from going so far ; one word only would have sufficed : but they took care not to say that word, but, on the contrary, upon the king’s saying, that while I continued faithful in my allegiance, and the performance of my duty, I was the most useful servant he had, and that he should never cease to lament the loss of me, they, to add fuel to the fire, under a feigned solicitude

citude to alleviate his majesty's disquiet, began to praise, with the utmost ardour, my great abilities in the management of affairs, the unwearied application I was capable of, and the active turn of my mind. From hence they inferred the great need which all the members of the state had of me, and the dependance which that necessarily introduced; they exaggerated the high credit I had acquired among foreigners, and with what ease I could put every thing in motion, without stirring out of my closet; praises which I neither merited in their good nor bad sense. Certainly envy can assume every disguise, since it can oblige men, not only to praise those whom they most abhor, but in their praises outdo flattery itself.

THE four confidants had reason to applaud themselves for this last stroke of policy, when they found they had not allayed the king's anger against me, but only to mix with it the strongest emotions of jealousy, distrust, and apprehension: that this was the state of his mind they were well assured, when he told them, that, if I resigned myself up to the ambitious desire of becoming head of a party, my credit was so great, and my friends so numerous, that I was able to do the state more harm, than admiral Coligny had ever been able to do. My enemies now thought there was nothing more necessary to be done, but to suffer those black suspicions to work in his mind, and wait the effect; accordingly they took leave of the prince, after having thus instilled the poison into his heart. Henry, in this state of mind, was no longer capable either of secrecy or art; he spoke of me publicly as of a rebel, and the whole court was immediately filled with the noise of my disgrace, and the expectation of my approaching ruin.

I HAD likewise many friends there, who had, a long time before matters came to this point, informed me of all that was practising against me by my

enemies, and of what was said by the king. I am not sure, whether it would not have been more prudent to act upon this occasion as I had already done on many others of the same nature, in which Henry of himself returned from his suspicions and disgusts, to his usual manner of thinking with regard to me. It is a mortifying thing for innocence to be perpetually employed in supporting itself by proofs, and exaggerate its merit by praises : a man who thinks he ought to owe his elevation to virtue alone, feels an honest shame at being obliged to secure that elevation by methods less worthy ; yet it is evident, on many occasions, that if virtue is not assisted by chance and industry, her own strength is not sufficient to protect her from the hatred, and even from the contempt of the public. So many repeated advices as I received, determined me at length to write a letter to the king. His majesty had not yet fixed, for any considerable time, in any of his palaces, but had consumed the months of January and February in journeys to Saint-Germain (where his children were) and Monceaux, staying but a short time at each place ; and, on the 13th of March, the day on which my letter was dated, was at Chantilly. I shall not transcribe this letter here, as I have no crime to efface, nor no particular action to justify ; it contained only general assurances of innocence, and arguments simple indeed and unstudied, but which, on that very account, ought to have had the more weight.

I OBSERVED to his majesty, that, during twenty-two of the thirty-three years which I had been in his service, the favours I had received from him had been but very small, altho' I had been at considerable expences ; yet since that consideration, the lowness of my fortunes, and the prospect of a decent establishment elsewhere, which might have given some excuse for my abandoning him, could not prevail upon me to do so ; it was not credible I should do
so

so now, when I saw myself so generously rewarded, when my fortune could only encrease, and when so many favours, which I every year received from my king in a manner wholly obliging, attached me no less to his person, than my offices and employments. It was not probable therefore, I said, that I should hazard the being deprived of one half of these advantages, by the hand which had heaped them on me, and of the rest by the reverses of fortune : that I defied all my enemies to charge me with the actual commission of any crimes of which I could not clear myself, in two words, whenever his majesty informed me of it ; that all those accusations were no more than mere possibilities, upon which he was too wise and too just to condemn any person, under whatever colour of supposition, probability, imputation, calumny, or even of praise, they might be presented to him : but setting all this aside, I entreated him not to conclude me guilty, but upon solid proofs ; that I should wait without fear the efforts of my enemies, and submit, without repugnance, to all the rigour of the law, and all the effects of his anger, if the smallest crime could be proved against me ; being most certain that if, in the great number of employments with which I was invested, he could charge me with the commission of any fault, it would not be where my honour or duty was concerned, but an effect of my ignorance or incapacity ; in which case I was ready, at his least command, to resign all my offices into his hands, chusing rather the obscurity of a private life with his favour, than the splendor of the highest dignities with his hatred.

I WAS convinced, by the answer which his majesty sent me, that the informations I had received were not false ; he addressed me in it with the title of cousin instead of friend : though short, it was not written with his own hand ; a kind of circumspection and reserve, which was not usual with him,

ran through it, and not one word of consolation found a place : the king only observed to me coldly, and in few words, that it was my business to suffer the world to talk of me as it pleased, and continue to serve him well. I pretended, however, to be satisfied with this letter, and, after having done all that was necessary upon this occasion, conscious of my own innocence, I was persuaded, that eagerness and precipitation did not become me ; I therefore waited till his majesty was willing to enter into a discussion of the affair with me, and continued to act as usual.

THE king, after staying at Chantilly six or seven days, quitted it to return to Paris, where his presence was necessary : he began to have a fondness for the former, from whence also he wrote to me, that he was much better in health (as I should perceive by his countenance as soon as I saw him) that he eat and slept well there, never rising before seven o'clock, tho' he went to bed at ten or eleven. I expected, at least, that he would mention my letter to me when he returned to Paris, but I was mistaken ; he took not the smallest notice of it, although he stayed there eight days, and four mornings successively conferred with me on many different affairs as we walked in the Tuilleries : Villeroy and Sillery indeed were present. After giving us all the necessary orders, he set out for Fontainebleau, still keeping up the same reserve in all the letters he wrote me from thence, during the remainder of this month, as well upon general as private affairs.

IT was here, as I observed a little before, that they supplied all which was yet wanting to make his majesty resolve my ruin ; and, as he staid there during the whole months of April and May, they had time sufficient to effect their purpose, and brought him to the point we have already seen. Calumny is like fire, which, the fiercer it burns, is extinguished the sooner, if no more fuel be added

to

to it ; and it is not so easy to support it as some have imagined, especially with princes who act on principle. If their imaginations be quick and lively, and their temper precipitate like Henry's, the passions once inflamed will, at first, carry them very far from their purpose, but never so far but that they may be brought back by reason : and from dispositions like these, one will have violent fits of anger to sustain ; but to make amends, there is neither obstinate prejudice, imperfect reconciliations, nor studied artifices to apprehend. It was this reason which induced me to wait, with more patience than I should otherways have done, for the issue of an affair so complicated and perplexed ; and without altering my behaviour, either while I was at Paris, or in those short excursions I made from time to time to Fontainebleau, I appeared always the same. My friends were not able to comprehend how I could enjoy a tranquillity which they were not capable of themselves, although so fully persuaded of my innocence, that all of them would have willingly become sureties for my conduct : they expressed great surprise at his majesty's behaviour to me, and could not keep silence at court, and probably in secret taxed the prince with injustice. All the kind offices of sincere and affectionate relations I received from the family of Lorraine upon this occasion.

At length my wishes and expectations were answered : the king finding that my enemies could bring no proofs of what they had advanced against me, he began to fear he had been a little too hasty ; my past services rose to his remembrance ; my present conduct, and the purport of my letter, dwelt upon his thoughts : he was struck with all this, and regretted that he had suffered any expressions of anger to escape him, being convinced that nothing was more just and reasonable than the request I had made him, that he would not condemn me without proofs of my guilt. One day
when

when I was at Fontainebleau, he sent La Varenne, D'Escures, and Beringhen, to me, on pretence of some business, supposing I should tell them in confidence my difficulties and perplexity: however, I confined myself wholly to the business they came about, and avoided mentioning any other subject. Villeroi and Sillery were sent to me afterwards for the same purpose, which I was convinced of as soon as I found that they had nothing to say to me, but on an affair of so little consequence, that it was not worthy the trouble they gave themselves; this was about a dispatch from Ance†, who managed the affairs of France at Vienna. I behaved to these gentlemen as I had done to the others: they had orders to make advances, and draw from me, at any price whatever, a confession of my sentiments upon the treatment I received from his majesty. The reader will judge if they acquitted themselves faithfully of their commission, and like true mediators: they turned the conversation, from business, to the danger and difficulty of serving princes, and the mortification ministers are frequently exposed to, and the uneasiness which slander must give to a man of honour: they afterwards gave me to understand more plainly, that a minister was not defended from these inconveniencies under the reigning king.

I saw clearly enough, that these two gentlemen, by talking in this manner, executed indeed the orders they had received, but with so much additional art on their side, as made it evident they were very solicitous to find some occasion of realising my supposed crime, when they made their report to his majesty. To adopt their sentiments had been insolence, and silence might have been construed into obstinacy and pride: I therefore replied, with great composure, that I did not doubt but that there
were

† William Ance†, master of the household, resident at Vienna.

were princes in the world such as they represented, but that his majesty was too just and too good, to treat, in that manner, such servants whose behaviour had been irreproachable, as, for example, I believed my own to be; that I was so well persuaded of this truth, that, although I should hear the contrary from his own mouth, yet I should still think his tongue but ill explained the meaning of his heart. These words were sufficient to disconcert these malicious commissioners; but they had recourse to other artifices to force from me some expressions of complaint or anger; and finding that they were not able to effect their purpose, they returned to tell his majesty not what I had said, but that I had said nothing at all; and that, contrary to my usual custom, I was so wrapt up in reserve, that I had not deigned to utter a single word. From hence it was easy to judge what these two gentlemen would have said, if I had given them the least opportunity of entrapping me. During the remainder of this day, I saw only such messengers as those; but was fully determined not to open myself on this subject, to the king himself, unless he led to it first: and that he might see no alteration in my conduct, I prepared to set out the next morning for Paris, as the evening before I had told him I would.

I WAITED on his majesty as usual; to receive his orders before I went away; I found him in his closet, surrounded by the courtiers who were come to his levee, and getting himself booted to go to the chace. At my entrance, he arose half up from his chair, one of his boots being already on, and pulling off his hat to me, bid me good-morrow, ceremoniously calling me monsieur: all which discovered a mind either grieved or perplexed. His usual style to me was, My friend Rosny, or Grand Master: but that confusion of mind he appeared to labour under, when, without seeming to know what he did, he

struck the little ivory cylinders which he had in his hand one against the other, convinced me that I was not mistaken, when I concluded there was neither anger nor disgust in this behaviour. I had likewise made him a much more profound bow than usual, which, as he afterwards told me, moved him so much, that it was with difficulty he could restrain himself from falling that instant upon my neck. He continued musing some moments longer, and then told Beringhen that it was not a good day for the chace, and that he would be unbooted. Beringhen, surpris'd at this sudden change of his intentions, replied, a little imprudently, that it was a very fine day. "It is not a fine day," replied Henry, with some emotion; "I will not ride this morning, take off my boots." That done, the king entered into a conversation, directing himself sometimes to one, sometimes to another, and chusing such subjects as he thought would afford me an opportunity of speaking: but observing I was still silent, he took Bellegarde by the hand; "M. Le Grand, said he, let us walk, I would talk with you a little, that you may set out to-day on your journey to Burgundy." They had some private business together, which related chiefly to some idle tales and quarrels of women.

WHEN they came to the door of the little stair-case which leads to the queen's garden, the king called L'Oserai, and, as he afterwards told me, bid him observe whether I followed him; and if I turned another way, not to fail to inform him immediately of it. I staid in the same place during the whole time that his majesty was talking to M. Le Grand, in the walk that leads to the garden of the Conciergerie; but I observed that he often turned his eyes upon me. After Bellegarde had taken leave of the king, I advanced, and desired to know if his majesty had any orders for me. "And where are you going?" said he. "To Paris, sire, replied I, upon the business you spoke
"to

“ to me of two days since.” “ Well, go then, replied the king, I still recommend to you the care of my affairs, and desire that you should continue to love me.” I bowed low ; he embraced me as usual, and I took the road to my own house ; but scarce was I got to the distance of three hundred paces, when looking back I saw La-Varenne running after me, crying, Monsieur, the king would speak with you. His majesty, seeing me return, struck into the road which leads to the Kennel, and calling to me while I was yet at a distance, “ Come hither, said he : have you nothing to say to me ?” No, sire, I replied, “ not at present.” “ Well then, I have something to say to you,” answered he with precipitation ; and, taking my hand, led me into the grove of white mulberry-trees, and ordered two Swiss centinels, who did not understand French, to be placed at the entrance of the canal which surrounded the grove.

THE king began by embracing me twice in a most affectionate manner, which the courtiers easily perceived, for we were within view, and they carefully watched all our gestures ; then calling me friend, and resuming his former familiarity with me, he told me with a look and accent which went to my heart, that the coldness and reserve with which we had for a month past behaved towards each other, must needs be very painful to two persons who, for three and thirty years, had been accustomed to the most unlimited confidence ; and that it was time to deprive those who were the cause of it of an occasion of triumph, which flattered too much their hatred of me, and the envy with which they beheld his and his kingdom’s increasing prosperity. The heart of this good prince opening as he spoke to me, he added, that earnestly desiring we should both forget what had happened, he thought it necessary to leave me ignorant of nothing that had passed on his side, either with respect to the informations which
had

had been given him against me, the effects they had produced in his mind, and lastly, the words and actions by which he had made those unfavourable impressions public. He intreated, commanded, and made me promise to follow the example he was going to give me, to discover to him all the different emotions with which I had been agitated, and my sentiments both of the treatment I had received from him, and of the affair itself, with the same unreserved freedom he should use towards me; "That before we leave this place, said he, our minds may be wholly freed from doubts and suspicion, and both perfectly satisfied with each other; therefore as I shall open my whole heart freely to you, I must intreat you will not disguise yours from me." I gave him my word of honour that I would most faithfully obey this injunction.

THE king then began first, by naming all those persons who had endeavoured to injure me with him on that occasion, as well in effects as words, among which there were some of all ranks and ages, and many who had served his majesty as long as myself; these I believe I may divide into seven classes; in the first I shall place the princes of the blood, and great officers of the crown; in the second, the king's mistresses, with their children, and such as either through the ties of blood or friendship supported their interests and served their passions, among these were Cœuvres, Fresnes, Forget, Puget, Placin, Vallon, and many more; the marchioness of Verneuil was at the head of all. The rage which animated these two classes against me was excited by my having retrenched their gratuities: the third was composed of the partisans of Spain, and the remains of the old leaguers, whose politics and principles of government could not agree with the king's or with mine; and this class was increased by many members of the council, Villeroy, Sillery, Fresnes, Forget, and others, who acted in concert with the jesuits: in the fourth

fourth I comprehend all the petit-maitres, court-favourites, and idle insignificant persons, who load Paris with an useless weight ; these were actuated by their resentment against me, for preventing his majesty from bestowing such favours on them as they expected, and for the opposition of my manner of living and conduct to theirs ; the number of these is too great, and themselves too contemptible, to fully the paper with their names : the fifth was made up of the seditious and malecontents of France, whom the flourishing condition of the kingdom, the wise œconomy of Henry, and the preparations he was making, which rendered him too powerful, incited to conspire my ruin : the financiers and other men of business made up the sixth, and they indeed had no reason to be much my friends.

THE seventh and last class was composed of another kind of court-flatterers, somewhat inferior to those I have already mentioned ; these were ever ready to give advice, and sought to make their court to the prince by continually furnishing him with new projects for raising money ; men for the most part formerly in place, and to whom nothing more of their once-shining fortune remained, than the detestable science of impoverishing the people ; which for their own interest, and by an effect of a long habitude in guilt, they endeavoured to teach his majesty ; but finding that this trade was become much less profitable to them, since his majesty had confided to me the sole management of his finances, they practised another art which discovered dispositions nearly the same ; this was, to invent slanders, dress up detraction like truth, and be the venal instruments of those, who either durst not or would not appear themselves in the satirical libels which filled the court ; it was by them that these contemptible pieces were composed, spread abroad, and the truth of them maintained and propagated ; the dangerous talent of raillery, and lively sallies of wit, opened them

them a way to the company and familiarity of Henry, who loved an easy and spirited conversation. Although he was perhaps upon his guard against the malignant strokes at me, yet he could not at length avoid being touched by them. Some of those whom at first he had despised or banished from his presence, found means afterwards to make themselves be heard. In this list would be found none but names so obscure, that they do not deserve to be raked from the dust, such as Juvigny, Parafis, Le Maine, Beaufort, Berfot, Longuet, Chalange, Versenai, Santeny, &c. if Sancy, who merits the first place among them, had not completed his own dishonour by this vile trade, which helped to retard his ruin, when his folly and excess had left him no other resource. He was obliged to sell his jewels, and offered them to the king, who, because he was not willing they should go out of the kingdom, ordered me to purchase them †.

THE king, after recounting the names of the authors, gave me a detail of their artifices. All that the wit of man could devise, when animated by an eager desire to destroy, was practised by them; wherever the king turned his steps, he saw nothing but informations, letters, libels, billets, and other papers of the same kind; not to mention the political memorial with which they presented him, under shew of zeal for the state, and affection for his person: these papers he found under his table, under the

† M. de Sancy has had the misfortune to see himself treated in the most cruel manner in all the writings of the Calvinists of that time, without having in any degree deserved it from them, otherwise than by having abjured their religion. Joseph Scaliger speaks of him as a fanatic, full of whimsies, &c. It would be doing him injustice, to read these accusations and injurious reflections, without having before one, at the same time, the apology of his conduct, written by himself; which may be seen in Villeroy's Memoirs, vol. III. p. 127. He therein, among other things, proves, in contradiction to what M. de Sully charges him with in this place, that by reason of the expences he had been put to in the king's service, he was obliged to sell his jewels to the value of an hundred and fifty thousand crowns.

the carpet of his chamber, and under his pillow ; they caused them to be presented to him by persons unknown, they were given into his own hand in the form of petitions, and crammed into his sleeves and pockets. I was there painted in the most hateful colours, and the most injurious epithets were not spared, except when by the refinement of those treacherous praises which I have already mentioned, they exaggerated to his majesty my unwearied industry, my great abilities, the depth of my judgment, my manners, once rude and forbidding, now, as they said, become gracious and obliging to all. Henry, with great sincerity, owned to me, that he was so imposed upon by these artifices, that he had almost entirely lost the good opinion he had once conceived of me : and that these wretches had contrived to fill him with such a desire of knowing all their intentions, that at the very time when he seemed so weary of that infinite number of libels and informations, as to throw them aside without taking any notice of them ; yet afterwards he could not resist the inclination he felt to collect them together, and cause them to be read to him.

It must necessarily be, that this prince was prejudiced in a strange manner, since he could not perceive that these writings were often no less injurious to himself than to me : as for example, when he read, that I made him mercenary and unjust to those that served him faithfully, to whom, under pretended compensation for old debts, he refused what they had a lawful claim to ; they likewise imputed weakness and timidity to him, in writing to me on all these occasions, which certainly was not greatly to his honour, whether in him they made it an excuse for his avarice, or a mark of his dependance. It was by these insinuations they began at first ; and while they went no farther, the king, who found only new occasions to praise my administration, was not prejudiced against me ; but to put these critics
to

to silence, he only required summaries of the state debts which I had discharged, to shew them; and as for me, when I had an opportunity, I severely reprov'd those persons for their too free censures, while under a false pretence of being denied justice, they suffered expressions to escape them in their rage, with which his majesty had good reason to be offended. But they soon left these slight accusations for others of greater consequence.

HENRY, to excuse the credulity with which he had believed these slanders, would have me judge myself of the libels in which they were contained. But as it would have been a tedious task to read them all, he fixed upon one † which Juvigny had shewn him twelve days before, and which had been made public, because in this all the different calumnies which were scattered throughout many other libels had been collected, which made it as complete as a work of that kind could be: there was indeed some little intricacy in it, but it was writ, however, with a sufficient force of style and judgment to persuade his majesty that it proceeded from some other hand than Juvigny, whose powers it greatly exceeded. The king, taking this paper out of his pocket, told me, that by reading it I might possibly help him to find out the author, whose name he would be glad to know. I received it from his majesty's hands, and read it from beginning to end in his presence. The reader, if he pleases, may here see the substance of it, for it is not my intent to conceal any part of it.

THE author, whoever he was, began (and indeed no writing had ever more need of such a precaution)

† This book was intituled, A political discourse, shewing the king in what respects his majesty is ill served. "It was privately handed about at Paris, says L'Etoile, in MS. the style of it was somewhat free and bold for those times, when all truths were not allowed to be spoke; it nevertheless did not contain any thing against the king or his service, but many things against M. de Rosny."

caution) by endeavouring to clear himself of all suspicion of envy or prejudice : the great qualities of Henry, the happiness which France enjoyed under his reign, the advantageous situation of his affairs made a second preamble, very proper to captivate the good-will of this prince, and still more to lead naturally to the accusation he was to make against me, of having insolently boasted, that this happiness was my sole work ; and from thence, with great art, introduced this reflection, that it was but too common for ministers of such abilities, and favourites with so much power, to engage in designs pernicious to the sovereign and the state. A crowd of examples eloquently displayed, finished this part of the picture.

FROM thence the author proceeded, not to examine my actions, which alone could afford a just proof of his assertions, but to criticise my manners ; and in the gracious reception I had lately given to all persons in general who came to my house, found an unanswerable proof of those pernicious designs ; and added, that the number of persons, from the princes of the blood, down to the most inconsiderable of the people, which by this studied civility I had gained over to my interests, was almost incredible. He attempted to enumerate this crowd of partisans, which could not indeed but be very considerable, since all that this accusation was founded upon, was that complaisance and politeness of behaviour which in France it is the custom to treat every one with : the prince of Conti and the duke of Montpensier were at the top of the list ; then the whole family of Lorraine ; several French lords came next : my reconciliation with the duke of Epemon, because followed by a sincere and reciprocal friendship, was misrepresented under the name of an union formed by a boundless ambition. Messieurs de Montbazon, de Ventadour, de Fervagues, d'Ornano, de Saint-Geran, de Praslin, de Grammont, d'Aubeterre, de Montigny, de Schomberg, and others, were likewise mentioned as persons

fons whom I attached to my interest by the distinction with which I treated them, the services I was perpetually doing them, and the distribution I made amongst them of part of his majesty's treasures, which I was so sparing of to all others.

ALL this not being sufficient to give probability to those views the author attributed to me, he added to it the correspondences I carried on without the kingdom. He mentioned an expression which fell from the king of England, and which might well be considered as a mere compliment, "That the king of France was happy in having me," and made it an argument to prove, that I had violated the faith I owed to my prince; that not only his Britannic majesty, but likewise the States-general of the United-Provinces, the dukes of Wirtemberg and Deux-Ponts, the Landgrave of Hesse, the prince of Anhalt, the marquisses of Anspach, Dourlach, and Baden, were ready to take my part blindly, and engage openly in my defence: the slightest service which any of them received from me, was construed into a criminal intrigue. All the protestant bodies, whether French or foreigners, as well as the Helvetian senate, being gained by the regularity of their payments, and by largesses from me, were said to be absolutely devoted to my interests.

AFTER having thus made the first essay with accusations which carried in them some little appearance of probability, the author became more hardy, and impudently hazarded others, the falsity of which appeared at the first view. According to him, I did not content myself any longer with my correspondences in foreign countries alone, but by sending his majesty's money into England, the Low Countries, Germany, and Swisserland, I was laying up for myself immense sums, in order to retire there one day, and, as opportunities offered, make levies of Swiss, German horse, and Lansquenets, to support the protestant religion, and, after the example
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of admiral Coligny, give up France to be preyed upon by these troops. The author, who doubtless was sensible that a minute detail of circumstances was generally considered as a mark of truth and sincerity, particularised this event as if he was already a witness of it; he alledged, that by purchasing arms, iron, lead, brass, bullets, and other warlike stores, for his majesty's magazines, I had also private magazines of my own, in each of the strongest protestant cities, where I deposited those stores in my own name. Certainly these people would have had reason to congratulate themselves upon the success of these arts, if by this accusation they could have prevailed upon the king to discontinue his preparations. This admirable piece concluded with an exhortation to his majesty, to confide no longer to one person the management of his revenue, the use of his authority, and the administration of his affairs; but to associate with me some persons who might keep a vigilant eye over my conduct.

WHILE I was reading this memorial Henry observed me with great attention, but finding that I read it as I would have done any indifferent paper in which I was not the least concerned, without saying a single word, without betraying the least emotion, or even any change of colour; "Well, what do you think of it?" said he. "What is your opinion of it, sire?" replied I, you that have read it more than once, and kept it so long in your hands; for my part, I am not so much surpris'd at these sort of writings, which in effect are nothing but the trifling production of foolish and wicked men, as to find that so great a king, possessed of so much wisdom, courage and goodness, and who has known me for so many years, would have patience to read them himself, and hear me read them throughout in his presence, without at least shewing by his anger the violence he did himself in listening to such calumnies, and with-

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“ out ordering the authors to be sought for, to punish them severely.”

AFTER having thus spoken, I considered that the most effectual way to restore peace to the king's mind, and revive in him all his former sentiments of me, was to give a direct and particular answer to each of the accusations which my enemies brought against me; and this I had given him my word I would do. I confined myself therefore to Juvigny's libel, which I had still in my hands, that I might give a separate answer to each article. The rest of my enemies, who durst not attack me openly, for fear of being obliged to produce their proofs, merited only contempt: and it was with this observation that I began my answer. To the presumptuous and injurious discourses of his majesty's government, which they attributed to me, I opposed those words I had so often in my mouth, in which I pointed out the king as a model for those princes who would be good and great to form themselves by. The examples they produced of ministers who became traitors, and favourites ungrateful, could not affect the fidelity of a man who, like me, had laboured to perfect those great and amiable qualities he had derived from his illustrious ancestors. I defied them to produce a single person, whether a friend or a kinsman, to whom I had given any gratuity without a sufficient reason, and a particular order from his majesty. Against the traitorous designs they imputed to me, of fomenting the civil wars, I appealed to Henry's knowledge of the affection I bore to my country, the attachment I ever had to his person, my solicitude for my own honour and reputation, and the opposition I had given on every occasion to the ill designs of the protestants, which had drawn the whole weight of their resentment upon me.

BESIDES, what advantage could I promise myself from these chimerical schemes, which I did not at present possess in the greatest and most honourable station

station to which any subject could aspire? what could be my aim? To place the crown on my own head; my enemies themselves did not accuse me of such a frantic ambition; to carry it out of the royal family, although it were in my power to dispose of it on whom could I fix my choice, but to the prince to whom I had, during thirty years, consecrated all my labours and my services, and for whose interest I had shed my blood, and devoted my life? Why, if I was the traitor they insinuated, did I still bend my whole cares to the increase of his glory, by those noble designs which if I did not suggest, I was at least the sole confidant and promoter of? If I had views prejudicial to his crown, or dangerous to his person, why did I so earnestly seek to engage him in all those alliances with England, and the other powers of Europe? Was not this acting directly against myself? Is it by pursuing such measures as these, that ambitious and designing subjects have endeavoured to bring about revolutions, and to ruin the state? Was it not rather by enervating the mind of their master, soothing his inclinations to luxury, indulging his passions, prevailing on him to violate the laws, to neglect all order and government, and to throw every part of the state into confusion? whereas I was continually laying before his majesty the state of his affairs, informing him of the use and destination of his money, and carrying my solicitude for order and œconomy so far, as to reproach him with even the smallest needless expence: I amassed him treasure, filled his magazines and arsenals, pointed out to him the means of rendering himself formidable to all Europe. It is not thus that rebellious subjects act, when they secretly undermine the foundations of their sovereign's power. The conduct of ministers is always equivocal in some part or other; however, I may truly say, that mine might stand the test of the strictest examination.

It was easy for me to perceive that his majesty felt all the force of these arguments; I concluded them with imploring him, in the most fervent manner, to believe that I had neither concealed nor disguised from him any of the thoughts of my heart; I confirmed these assurances by the most sacred oaths, which he new I never uttered rashly; I addressed him by all those revered and tender epithets which had, at all times, been the expressions of my zeal and attachment to his person. I would have embraced his knees, but he would not suffer it, lest those who beheld this posture might imagine I had recourse to it to obtain his pardon for a real crime: he told me, that he was fully convinced of my fidelity, that he sincerely repented of his too easy belief, and that he would never remember what had passed, but to impress upon his mind the obligation he was under to love me the better for it. This was the result of a conference which had been so necessary to restore quiet to us both.

THOSE who have any knowledge of a court, may easily guess the emotions that agitated the hearts of the courtiers, during a conversation which lasted more than four hours, and with what attention our words and actions were observed; for tho' it was not possible for them to hear what we said, yet they could not be ignorant of the subject we were upon. The manner in which Henry had received me in the morning, his recalling me after I had left him, the precaution he had used at the beginning of our conversation, the papers he had taken with him, the earnest manner in which we seemed to discourse, was sufficient to inform them of the rest; each, according to his fears or hopes, expected the result of so important an explanation between us.

HENRY was willing to tell it them himself. After receiving the papers again from me, which he was resolved to throw into the fire, he went out of the grove of mulberry trees holding me by the hand, and asked

asked this crowd of courtiers who were got together, what it was o'clock; they answered it was one o'clock; and that he had been walking a long time. "I have so," said the prince, in an accent which spread a paleness on every cheek; "but there are some present who are more weary than I am: however, to console them, I here declare before you all, that Rosny is dearer to me than ever, and that our friendship will continue till death; and you, my friend," pursued he, turning to me, "go home to dinner, and love me and serve me, for I am fully satisfied with you." Many others in the same situation I was, would have * made use of their returning favour and interest, to exact vengeance on those who had laboured thus to procure their disgrace; but I thank heaven that I have not the reproach to make myself, of having even entertained such a thought. I carefully concealed their names from my secretaries, nor will I mention them here; I likewise suppress part of what the king said to me to their disadvantage: though they have acted in a quite contrary manner, yet it cannot alter my opinion, that this sort of revenge is unworthy of a generous mind.

THAT I might remove all cause of uneasiness from the king, concerning the affair which has led me into so particular an account of this great difference between us, I managed Grillon with such art, that he at length consented to take thirty thousand crowns of Crequy for his post, which, in respect to Lesdiguières, his majesty had permitted that nobleman to purchase†. This drew many acknowledgments to me from the father-

* The sieur de Juvigny or Divigny, a French gentleman, author of the above-mentioned memorial, suffered for all the rest: a prosecution was carried on against him for high treason, and he was found guilty, condemned to death, and all his effects to be confiscated, but having made his escape, he was hanged in effigy at Paris.

† Henry IV. though extremely dissatisfied with the duke of Epemon who had retired to Angoulême, and made great complaints of the injustice

father-in-law and the son. Crequy came in person to make me these compliments, and added to them repeated assurances of gratitude and affection: Lesdiguières wrote to me from Grenoble, and expressed himself in terms still stronger than Crequy had done. As we were before connected by alliances between our families, this last service they had received from me, made every one expect to see us for the future intimate friends; however, there was not any person by whom I was so easily abandoned, or received so many bad offices from, after the death of Henry, as from these two men: gratitude is not a virtue to be found amongst courtiers.

THE heart of Henry being once tainted with suspicions to my prejudice, it was not impossible but that the wound might again be opened: it was this hope that supported my enemies amidst the mortifications and grief they suffered from the adventure at Fontainebleau. It was not long before they again returned to the charge, and (it is with regret I say it) were almost as successful as before †: the affair, however,

tice he pretended the king had done him on this occasion, yet insisted that M. de Crequy should wait on him as his colonel, at the distance of a hundred leagues from Paris, to take the oaths before him, get his commission allowed by him, and receive his orders for being invested in his post. The duke of Epemon made him dance attendance after him for several days, and suffered him to wait a whole day at the door of his chamber. History of the duke of Epemon, p. 212.

† "The king," says le Grain, b. vii. "advanced the duke of Sully in such a manner, that he always reserved a sufficient authority over him; and who knows but it might perhaps be a prudential measure in the king thus to expose him to the hatred of many, against whom he was very able to protect him, in order to keep him under apprehensions of what might be the effects of his failing in his duty." This passage in our Memoirs seems, at first sight, to offer something in favour of this conjecture: the opinion of those nevertheless, who think there was no artifice in the suspicions Henry IV. conceived against the duke of Sully, appears to be better founded; but whether his suspicions were feigned or real, I also think, as many other persons of sense do, that they ought to be reckoned among that prince's defects. According to the first supposition, a low cunning unbecoming the character of so great a king

however, did not become as public as the former had been, because it was sooner followed by an explanation, and it is needless to repeat it here. If my enemies from time to time enjoyed the pleasure of believing that I should sink under their efforts, yet they were soon undeceived, and those ineffectual attempts but increased their shame and rage; and had I been of a disposition to enjoy such victories, this last, being not less complete than the other, would have afforded me sufficient matter for triumph: it was likewise at Fontainebleau, that the king and I came to an explanation of this second difference; and the morning afterwards the king sent for me very early. As soon as I entered his chamber he took my hand, and led me towards a cross-barred window which looked into the queen's garden, having somewhat to impart to me in private; but as we passed, he said aloud, in the presence of the whole court, "You cannot conceive, my friend, how easily and happily I slept this night, after having opened my heart to you, and had all my doubts cleared up." He then asked me, if I did not feel the same calm satisfaction; I replied that I did, and that he should always find in me the same fidelity and affection.

IN the midst of a favour so often interrupted by little jealousies and heats, what convinced me that the heart of Henry always leaned towards me was, that however dissatisfied my enemies might sometimes by their insinuations make him with me, yet it never interrupted the course of those benefits with

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which

is apparent; and according to the second, a piece of injustice for which the first movements of a hasty passion would be no excuse, there being a kind of agreement between this prince and his minister, that the first should overlook, in the character of the other, that firmness and inflexibility of temper, incapable of a base submission and flattery, in consideration of a fidelity established on such numberless proofs. This is a sufficient evidence, that the performance of the most important services will not dispense a man from a flexibility to, and compliance with, the humour of princes, even the most perfect.

which it was his constant custom to load me and my family. I had proofs of his beneficence with respect to my eldest daughter, amidst those very storms I have mentioned †. I had engaged my word to Fervaques, to give her to the young Laval, whom his majesty, as I have formerly observed, ordered me to prefer to the duke of Rohan; and the affair was upon the point of being concluded. One day, about the beginning of this year, when I was walking with the king upon the terrace belonging to the Capuchins, he again introduced this subject, and told me his reasons for desiring me to reject the duke of Rohan, which were, that the marriage of this lord with my daughter had been proposed by the princess Catherine to the dutchess of Rohan, and accepted by my wife, without acquainting him with it; and likewise because monsieur and madame de Fervaques had so earnestly solicited his interest in favour of Laval, that he had promised them to give him to me for a son-in-law, rather than the duke of Rohan, who was not so rich indeed, but had the honour to be so nearly related to him, that, if he died without children, as the princess his sister had done, the duke of Rohan would succeed to his kingdom of Navarre, and the other estates of the families of Albert Foix, and Armagnac: he then added,

† Margaret de Bethune. This lady, to be revenged on her only daughter, who, against her will, had married Henry de Chatot, in the year 1645, set up a boy about fifteen years old, as being really her son by the duke of Rohan who died seven years before. "Many persons of credit, says Amelot, who have seen Tancred (the name of this pretended heir to the house of Rohan) have assured me, that he had the topping of the Rohan family, which is a small tuft of hair on the forehead, and that the features of his face were remarkably like those of his supposed father." To this anecdote we may add another, by which it is pretended that the duke of Rohan had a mind to purchase the kingdom of Cyprus of the Grand Signior for his child: it was also said, that his father and mother had kept him concealed only that they might marry their daughter to the count of Soissons, and afterwards to the duke of Weimar. See these curious fables in Amelot de La-Houffaye, article Bethune, &c. and art. Chypre.

added, that, for other reasons which he would acquaint me with, he had again altered his opinion, and that it was his intention I should break with the family of Fervaques as decently as I could. Having already prepared them for this change of my resolution, he desired me to withdraw the contracts and articles which had been agreed upon between us, in such a manner, that the breaking off the match should appear entirely my own act, and that they might not have any room to say they had refused an alliance with me. He added, that he would himself bring the duke of Rohan to pay his compliments, with the dutchess his mother, and expected that I would receive him as one who was to be my son-in-law within three days, having already settled every thing relating to the marriage himself; that he would have the contract drawn up in his presence, and would sign it as the kinsman of both parties.

I THANKED his majesty for the interest he took in my family, and the honour he conferred upon me. The affair was managed as he had directed; the king gave the bridegroom ten thousand crowns for the wedding cloaths and expences, and the like sum to my daughter. The year before, I had married mademoiselle Du-Marais, my wife's daughter by her first husband, to La-Boulaye, the son of him whom Henry had loved so much: she had no reason to expect any other gratuity from his majesty, than that which is generally given to all the queen's maids of honour, under the title of a present for the nuptial robe, and had been settled at two thousand crowns: the king raised it to five thousand in favour of my daughter-in-law; but that it might not be made a precedent for others, he ordered me to carry it to account.

It was usual with his majesty, after he had cleared the accounts of his expences in fortifications and buildings, to say to me, in the presence of the

officers employed in those works, who attended to know his pleasure concerning farther improvements in them, "Well, you see my fortifications and buildings are resolved upon, what have you done to your houses?" To which, when I replied, as I seldom failed to do, that I could do nothing to them for want of money; he would answer, "Well, shew me your plans, that I may know what you would do if you had money." And after examining them, and telling me what he thought it would be necessary to alter, he added, that he would give me twenty thousand livres to enable me to make those alterations he pointed out to me.

HOWEVER, I sometimes requested favours of him which he refused to grant, and I shall not have the vanity to conceal it: he would not give the post which had formerly been the baron de Lux's to my brother, or to La-Curée, for either of whom I requested it; telling me, that for Bethune, he designed a post in Brittany, which would suit him better; and that as for La-Curée, he did not think that employment compatible with the post of lieutenant of a company of light-horse, and the government of Chinon, which he already possessed. The truth was, he chose to give it to Ragny, who could do him greater service in the province. I asked two other favours of him in the same letter, the one for my nephew de Melun, and the other for La-Boulaye: he told me, that La-Boulaye had not yet, by his services, merited such an instance of his bounty, but he granted the other, which was the abbey of Moreilles in Poitou, lately become vacant. I received another refusal from him, if it may be called so, in which my son-in-law the duke of Rohan was concerned: the occasion of it was this.

THE duke of Rohan was governor of Saint-John d'Angely, of which place Des Ageaux was the king's lieutenant: it was not the governor, to whom in justice it belonged, that named this lieutenant,
but

but his majesty, who thought it necessary, for the good of his service, to deprive the governor of this privilege, that the lieutenant, who, in troublesome times, had hitherto always played an important part in affairs, might in some degree be independant of the governor, and in a condition to render his power ineffectual, if he should not use it to the king's satisfaction, and for the advantage of the state. The lieutenant therefore was, in reality, possessed of the whole authority, and the governor had only an empty title. The duke of Rohan who earnestly wished to have this prerogative restored to the governor, entreated me to solicit the king for that purpose, a favourable opportunity offering itself by the sickness of Des Ageaux, who, it was thought, would never recover. Whatever inclination I had to do my son-in-law this service, I durst not make the proposal to the king directly, the request having too much conformity with that state of dependence into which my enemies had insinuated I fought to place all the * protestant cities: nothing more would have been wanting to renew all his suspicions. I resolved therefore to sound him first upon the subject, which I did very artfully, taking occasion, upon the news of Des Ageaux's sickness, to ask his majesty whom he had thought of to supply his place if he died: it was by letters that I made this attempt; but I would go no further till I had received his majesty's answer. The king, in his answer, told me, that he did not intend to renounce his right of naming the lieutenant of Saint-John, because it would not always be the duke of Rohan,

nor

* It is said in the *Hist. de la mere & du fils*, vol. I. p. 15, that Henry IV. refused the duke of Sully the government of Saint-Maixant, which the queen herself, at the duke's request, desired of the king for him, saying, Prudence would not permit the making a Calvinist master of that place, small as it was. If any thing could make one doubt of the truth of this fact, besides M. de Sully's silence in relation to it, the facility with which that prince granted him the government of the whole province must be sufficient.

nor my son-in-law, who would be governor of that place. I mentioned Poussou, the mayor of that city, to him, whom he continued in that office upon the character I gave of him. Des Ageaux recovering of his sickness, no farther steps were taken in the affair.

BEFORE I quit this article of marriage, I shall take notice of what happened at court, with regard to mademoiselle de Melun my niece, whom they thought likewise of marrying at that time, as her fortune was extremely large, the marchioness de Roubais my aunt having made her her sole heir. The family of D'Estrées cast their eyes on her for a wife to De Cœuvres †; they thought themselves sure of the king's interest: and the affair was proposed to him by M. de Vendome himself, to whom the king promised that he would speak to me of it before he left Chantilly. He recollected the affair when he was at Louvre-en-Parisis, where they went to dine, and wrote to me concerning it in terms which shewed how earnestly he desired the marriage might be concluded.

I WROTE to the young lady's relations, who were all Flemings; but the answer they gave me being such as I neither ought nor could repeat to my sovereign, I sent him none at all; and when at his return he asked me the reason, I only told him, that mademoiselle de Melun's relations did not approve of the proposed alliance. The king supposing that it was myself who answered for them, and that I had not wrote to them about the affair, I was obliged to shew him the letters I had received from the marchioness de Roubais, the prince and princess de Ligne, the princess d'Epinoy, the countess de Barlemont, and the counts de Fontenay and de Buquoy, who had all
written

† Francis-Hannibal d'Estrées, marquis of Cœuvres, duke and peer and marechal of France.

written to me upon the same subject. Henry, in these letters, finding, what I would not tell him, that notwithstanding the honours he had conferred on the house of D'Estrées, they thought it beneath their alliance †, “ I see,” said this prince with some resentment, “ that since we have to do with all these proud “ Flemish fools, we must think no more of it.” Accordingly the affair went no farther, his majesty being resolved not to meddle in it any more.



B O O K XXI.

THE uneasiness I suffered from the king's relapse into doubts and suspicions of my conduct, encroached upon part of that time I used to devote entirely to the administration of the finances; but it never lessened my attention to the duties of my several employments. I laboured this year to prove the alienations and usurpations that had been made upon the crown lands, and to clear exactly all the pensions upon the tailles, gabelles, decimes, aides, and other parts of the revenue; as well as all the debts contracted either by the king, or by the cities, counties, and communities. Upon calculating these sums, I found that the alienations, pensions, and debts, from the time they were first settled and contracted to the present year, had cost the kingdom above an hundred and fifty millions †.

It

† The house of D'Estrées is undoubtedly one of the most antient noble families of Picardy. Consult our genealogists.

† “ Nothing less than the insurmountable courage of the duke of “ Sully was sufficient to retrieve the disorders of the revenue, by “ disincumbering the mortgaged crown lands from a charge of an “ hundred millions, by paying off some, and lessening others of the “ debts of the crown, &c. He always seconded the king in the glo- “ rious designs of easing his people.” Political Essay on Commerce,

It is still more extraordinary, that all the money arising from those taxes with which the state was overburdened, and in appearance no advantages gained by them, had for the most part been either usurped by those persons who were at first employed in the verification of them, or divided, sold, and alienated by them to others. The king would not believe this; but I made it plain, by means of two papers which fell into my hands; the first was, a list of those persons who had been concerned in the farm of the salt, during the lease of Champigny and Noel de Here: the number amounted to twenty, from Paris, the court, and even the council, and each had from fifty thousand livres to one hundred and fifty thousand crowns a-piece, the whole amounting to nine millions seven hundred thirty-eight thousand livres: the other paper, dated October 27, 1585, is an agreement between the superintendant D'O and those who farmed the salt, for a fifth part: D'O prevailed upon Antony Faschon, a notary, to be security for that whole sum to the farmers before-mentioned.

By the same practices his majesty was defrauded of almost all the revenue arising from the aides and parties casuelles. Gondy had prevailed with Incarville, and the other members of the council with whom he shared, to have that money assigned to him, for the payment of some debts which he pretended were due to him from the king. Difficult as it was to find out these frauds and connivances, I made such strict enquiries, that I discovered three millions that were to come to the treasury. As it was merely with a view to relieve the people, that I thus from time to time stripped the usurpers of money that did not belong to them,

ch. 10. M. Claudius de L'Isle speaks of him in the same manner, and with the greatest encomiums, in the Abridgment of his Universal History, vol. V. p. 501.

them, in proportion to my discoveries, I made very considerable abatements in the king's name upon the taille, that perpetual source of abuses and vexations of all kinds, as well in the assessment as collection: it is greatly to be wished, though hardly to be hoped for, that one day or other the fund of this part of the king's revenue may be wholly changed*.

I PLACE

* These abuses and vexations are so flagrant and apparent, that our kings and their ministers have frequently attempted to find some remedy for them by entirely changing the form of this branch of the revenue of France; but the difficulties the author speaks of have always intervened, and rendered their endeavours fruitless. However, one attempt has been made in our days, which seemed to promise a more happy success, though hitherto its progress has not been very rapid: I will take the liberty of explaining the nature of it here.

An unhappy prejudice prevails in this kingdom, and I believe in all monarchical governments, which we cannot be too solicitous to destroy; for the minds of the people being thereby kept in a perpetual state of distrust of every thing undertaken by their sovereign, from this diffidence alone great part of the same mischievous effects arise, which an absolute disobedience could produce. The prejudice I mean is, that the good of the people is never the motive of the actions of kings; but that, on the contrary, no changes are made in their situation, but such as tend to render them more miserable.

It is impossible but so considerable a change as is proposed to be made in the taille, must, from its own nature, be subject to great difficulties. Now I apprehend it will not be sufficient that these difficulties have been overcome in the minds of the few who have formed and perfected this scheme, but they must also be cleared up to those whom it is necessary to employ in the execution of it; for the manner of executing a work of this nature is in no degree analagous to that in which a building may be erected: the latter being effected by the mere mechanical co-operation of the hands of the workmen with the design of the architect; whereas, to carry on and complete the former, it is absolutely necessary that the nature of it should be as clearly conceived by those who are to put it in execution, as by those who formed the plan. But two things stand in opposition to this, which it will become necessary to remove, the one by the means of information, the other by punishment; these are, the want of knowledge, and the want of diligence in the subaltern officers; the latter making them disobey the orders of their superiors, and the former, though their intention be ever so good, occasioning them to execute every thing wrong.

This reason alone would be sufficient to prove, that what relates to the general receipt of the taille proportionelle, ought not to be entrusted to the assessors and other officers of the intendants of the finances; I dare not say to the intendants themselves, and those acting in immediate subordination to them, who are generally taken by

I PLACE the gabelle after the taille. I never thought any thing more capricious and tyrannical, than

them at random, out of the offices of the police, or the revenue: and who having other business of their own, cannot spare the time necessary for the other: but as artificers are sent for from the metropolis, when any work is to be performed exceeding the capacity of common workmen; so the council ought to chuse and appoint, for the management of the general receipts, commissioners of integrity and capacity, sufficiently authorised, and perfectly instructed in the nature of their business, and who should be allowed all the time and expences that are requisite. If they are too much hurried, part of the remarks necessary for them to make on the different particulars of the business of the provinces will escape their observation; and if their salaries are ill paid, or not to be received by them without difficulties, necessity may induce them to betray their trust. This important work certainly demands all possible attention.

When one considers how powerful an influence the bonds of parentage, friendship, society, or even mere neighbourhood, have on mankind; how strongly they are affected by different interests, as well personal as social; the fear of displeasing, the desire of obliging, the ambition of being honoured and caressed by their countrymen, the dependance on a superior, who, according to his caprice, can make his dependant sensible of his superiority, by depriving him of his office, or by unjust reprimands; and the innumerable other motives which tie up a man's hands in the midst of his family and countrymen; a thousand reasons will appear against employing the ordinary officers in the business of the new taille. This assertion is confirmed by the testimony of several persons, who having with great application considered what were the designs of the council, in constituting this kind of operation, and afterwards kept a watchful eye on the manner in which it daily appears to be executed by the officers in their several districts, have with great concern found, that, out of fifty of these officers, there is perhaps not one whose manner of executing his business does not render the new method more odious than the old.

These motives and these difficulties, a perfect knowledge of M. de Vauban's plan, the small difficulty there was in establishing it when trial was made of it, the happiness those few parishes still continue to enjoy which have found the means of preserving it amongst them, the experience every day furnishes that the dixieme (which in its own nature is but a species of the dixme) has every possible advantage over the taille and other impositions; all these, I say, must convince every judicious man, that it will be found absolutely necessary to recur to the establishment of the royal dixme, as being of all methods the most simple, the least expensive, and the least burthensome to the people; and that when it was proposed by this able and virtuous patriot, it was not received with all the regard it merited. The maxim, that enabling the people to live at their ease will endanger their revolting, is as false as it is cruel. It most certainly is also the interest of the people, if well understood, that the king should be perfectly acquainted with the true value of what they possess, and

than to oblige a private man to buy up more salt than he is willing or able to use, and then hinder him to sell the overplus. I once expressed my sentiments of this practice freely to the king, who desired me to give him a circumstantial memoir upon it; as for example, the prime cost of the salt at the salt-pits, of the expences till it was sold, of its distribution into granaries, and other questions relating to it: his majesty did not tell me what use he intended to make of this memoir. I drew it up with the utmost expedition, and as near the truth as I was able; for on account of the reasons I there gave, it was hardly possible to fix the true value of things. However, this memorial produced no consequences, every thing remained in the same state as before; which shews how difficult it is to reform abuses, which the ignorance, precipitancy, and short-sightedness of those ancients who are proposed to us as infallible guides, have introduced into the first regulations, even when other imposts, far more reasonable, such as the tithes and entries, seem both to point out the way, and make it easy †.

THE

and consequently the real strength of his kingdom; that, without regard to exemptions or any unjust privileges, all his majesty's subjects should be equally taxed; and that commerce and industry should meet with all possible encouragement. As to any further reflections which may be made on this matter, we will refer to that excellent work itself composed by M. Vauban, and intituled, *Dixme Royale*, &c.

† It is well known what is the net produce to the king of the gabelle, or salt duty, after all expences paid; and it is not, consequently, difficult to discover, to what those expences amount on each minot of salt. Why should not the king at once take the price of each minot of salt on the first sale, and at the salt-pits themselves? Why should not the same be done in the case of the aides? This question, simple as it is, has been asked long ago. The cardinal of Richelieu, in this respect, following the opinion of his predecessor in the ministry, *Test. Politique*, part II. ch. ix. §. 7. Prefixed, the author of the *Essay on Commerce*, ch. v. and many other able politicians after him, unanimously pronounce sentence against an impost like this, not only burdensome from the manner in which it is levied, but becoming still more unjust from the unequal manner in which it is assessed. It is true, they perceive great difficulties in altering it; but this alteration being once made, one of the principal sources of the ease, and at the same

THE debts contracted by the provinces, town-houses, and corporations, were not less troublesome to the king than his own: I was continually soliciting him to call on me to review and settle them, in the same manner as I had done the others; I prevailed at last, and his majesty left me the choice of what measures I thought most likely to attain this end. The commissioners I named for this purpose were selected from among those persons, whom I knew to be most faithful, and capable of the greatest application to business, in the sovereign courts, among the masters of requests, the treasurers of France, and other officers; but as this work could not go on so expeditiously as the former, I shall defer giving an account of it till I come to relate the effects it produced.

AND here a reflection occurs to me, not more common than just, which is, that regularity and œconomy must certainly have infinite resources; for notwithstanding the ordinary expences of the state, and the extraordinary ones his majesty was at in his kingdom; notwithstanding that three or four millions were sent every year out of the kingdom to be distributed in foreign countries; notwithstanding the ruinous and exhausted condition in which the king, at his accession to the throne, found France, his finances, and his treasury, and many more difficulties almost insurmountable; yet the government had already an appearance of opulence and strength, which banished all remembrance of its former indigence. Could it be possible for any person to imagine ten years before, that in 1605, the king would find himself as rich as he really was; if they reflected, that the sums which were demanded of him

when
same time of the opulence of the nation would be opened thereby. The cardinal de Richelieu, who thus speaks of it, adds, that he had found, from the most knowing amongst the superintendants of the finances, that the produce of the duty on salt, if levied at the pits, would be equal to what the king of Spain receives from the Indies. See also on this subject the *Dixme Royale* of M. de Vauban.

when he was acknowledged peaceable possessor of the crown, and those that were owing from his exchequer, with all the interest and arrears, did not amount to less than three hundred and thirty millions ; and that all which could be paid of this enormous sum, such as the mere debts, should really be done ; and such measures taken with regard to the pensions and assignments, that they should be regularly paid, without exhausting the treasury or incurring the least inconvenience ? Yet all this was actually effected. And probably the reader has not yet found any thing in these Memoirs so interesting as the following account in gross, of the particular sums which made up the whole.

THERE was due to queen Elizabeth at the time of her demise, for ready money lent to Henry in his necessities, advanced by her to the German troops and the army sent into Bretagne, as well as for all the other sums, to which the maintenance of those supplies that Henry was furnished with by the English, amounted ; consisting of men, vessels, and provisions, for the siege of Dieppe, and that of Rouen, and during the war with the league ; the sum of seven millions three hundred and seventy-eight thousand and eight hundred livres : To the Swiss Cantons, for their services and their pensions, comprehending the interest due upon them ; thirty-five millions eight hundred twenty-three thousand four hundred and seventy-seven livres and six sols : To the States-General, for money lent, for pay due to their troops, and for the furnishing vessels, powder, provision, ammunition, &c. during the league likewise ; nine millions two hundred seventy-five thousand four hundred livres : To several French noblemen, colonels, and other officers, for service, pay, pensions, salaries, &c. during the civil wars ; six millions five hundred and forty-seven thousand livres : To the farmers of every part of the revenue ; to princes, cities, corporations, and private persons ;

sons; comprehending the salaries, appointments, and pensions of the officers of the king's household, of the police, and the finances, and the civil magistrates, by settled accounts, twenty-eight millions four hundred and fifty thousand three hundred and sixty livres: To several private persons, according to their bills, rescptions, receipts of the treasury, warrants, acquittals, patents, &c. almost all in the reign of Henry III. twelve millions two hundred and thirty-six thousand livres: mortgages of the crown lands, compositions of pensions, where the principal being exorbitant was moderated by the creditors themselves, or deducted by his majesty; one hundred and fifty millions: treaties made at the abolition of the league, which have been calculated already, thirty-three millions one hundred and fifty thousand nine hundred and twenty-four livres †.

It is certain, as I have already observed, that upon the examination of these different demands upon the exchequer, many that were found to be unjust were totally annulled; others were compounded for with the creditors, and others were got clear of by several expedients, such as those upon the taxes, and the crown lands; but it may be easily imagined, that there remained a very considerable number of debts to be discharged: and here I must anticipate my story, for the sake of observing that good examples are not always efficacious. After Henry's death, those that were placed at the head of affairs, began their administration by destroying part of that œconomy, and abolishing many of those regulations, which he had established: this conduct, while it wore an appearance, and only an appearance of lenity and compassion, gave me reason to apprehend, that under the new reign, the national debt would be increased rather than lessened. But to quit this

† There is a miscomputation of about a million, in the old *Memoirs*, as well in the account of the contracts of the league, as in the sum total; but this is of small moment,

this subject for the present, I shall content myself with barely mentioning here, as an eternal monument of Henry's glory, the flourishing condition into which the wisdom of his government had already brought France; both foreign and domestic payments were regularly made, and no hardship was sustained by any of his subjects, either from those payments, or the expences of the current year, though the king still continued to lay out very large sums in rebuilding, furnishing, and adorning his palaces; repairing the old fortifications, and raising new ones; erecting public buildings †; re-edifying churches, hospitals, and convents; in funds for repairing pavements, moles, and bridges; in building a great number of gallies upon the Mediterranean; in filling his magazines and arsenals; redeeming the jewels of the crown, and purchasing more; and after all this, there still remained, at the end of the year, a considerable sum to deposit in the Bastile ‡.

BUT

† Henry the Great caused the chapel of Fontainebleau to be painted and gilt, cut avenues through the forest, and in many other respects decorated this royal palace: he finished the Pontneuf, built the square and street Dauphin, repaired many streets in Paris, built wharfs, &c. Besides what is said in these Memoirs, see the detail of all those buildings, in the *Mercure François*, anno 1610, p. 404. *Le Grain's Decade*, b. viii. *Morizot*, chap. 46, and others who have written descriptions, or the history, of the antiquities of Paris, &c. No one is ignorant that this great Prince, through the representations of the duke of Sully, repaired the highways in almost every quarter of the kingdom; built many causeways and bridges in places before impassable, especially in Perry, which might vie, in point of beauty, with the works of the Romans; but which, for want of being kept in order for a hundred and thirty years past, are, at present, in a very indifferent state: that, by his order, elms and other trees were planted along the sides of these roads, some of which are still growing in different places, where they are called *Rosnys*: there are many ordinances made by this king on this subject, and some others, by which the converting arable land into pasture is forbidden; and vineyards are ordered to be stubbed up. These buildings and works, and this application to render his kingdom flourishing, contributed, perhaps, as much as his military exploits, to procure Henry IV. the title of Great, which was conferred on him in his life time, and, as it appears, about the year 1602.

‡ The share the duke of Sully had in all these things gave him a just claim to the following singular elogium in the *Mercure François*, anno 1606, p. 101. "As he executed these offices and employments in a manner more for the benefit and emolument of the crown of
" France

BUT what is still more valuable than all these treasures, Henry acquired them not only without increasing the people's poverty, but even lightened the weight of their former burthen, as has been shewn in these Memoirs. He always regretted that the present situation of affairs would not permit him to carry this tenderness for his subjects farther; if the enemies of his government will not confess this truth, if in their writings they have asserted the contrary, yet it is absolutely certain, that plenty and affluence began now to be felt over the whole kingdom; the nobility and soldiery were delivered from their tyrants in the revenue; the peasant sowed and reaped in full security†; the artist enriched himself by his profession; the meanest tradesman rejoiced in his profits; and the nobleman himself improved his estates. Some examples of severity, which his majesty had been obliged to make, were so far from disturbing the tranquillity of the kingdom, that it was never more fully established, nor never more sincerely enjoyed; the licentiousness which had been corrected in the army, procured the people a real advantage, without doing any prejudice to the officer and soldier, who were paid with the utmost exactness, rewarded in proportion to their services, and esteemed, honoured, and caressed, as their merits and valour deserved. The medals which I presented as usual to his majesty, had a lily shooting out a bud on each side, pointing to two stars, which represented the polar stars, with these words, "Hi fines." It is by actions like these that a king may aspire to the glory of having accomplished this motto.

I SHALL

"France than any of his predecessors, all true Frenchmen readily acknowledged his merit in this respect, as well in the lifetime of his majesty, as since his death: and though he could not escape the calumny of those who envied him, it must nevertheless be allowed, that he was the Joseph both of our king and of France."

† The affection this good prince bore to his people, appears from this saying of his, which has been preserved as a kind of tradition, That he would make the poorest peasant in his dominions able to eat flesh all the week long, and to put a fowl in his pot besides on Sundays.

I SHALL not repeat here what I have said before, concerning the letters I received from Henry; I had so many this year, and on all sorts of subjects, the finances, trade, policy, that I shall not attempt to produce them: several of them contained orders for presents to different persons; thirty thousand livres to the queen for her new year's gift; nine thousand livres to the countess of Moret †; fifteen hundred livres to the queen's bed-chamber women; and a like sum to be distributed by madame de Montglat, among the nurses of the king's children upon different occasions; four thousand to the family of the commandeur de Chastes; twelve hundred livres to Praslin; a like sum to Merens; three thousand livres to the count de Saint-Aignan, to indemnify him for the money he had expended on his father-in-law Montigny's company; two thousand four hundred livres to several pensioners in Burgundy, paid them by Hector Le-Breton his commissioner in that province; a pension of four thousand livres, to ‡ Lognaç, a protestant captain, in reward for his services; forty thousand livres, which his majesty thought a
just

† *Jacqueline Du-Beuil.* The king, towards the end of the preceding year, had created her countess of Moret, she having revived the passion of love in his heart, which had, in a manner, died with his marchioness: he had also married her to a gentleman called Chanvalon. In *L'Etoile's* journal there are some anecdotes relating to this matter, but they are too licentious for us to repeat, anno 1604. *Mademoiselle Du-Beuil* or *De-Beuil*, is represented in the writings of that time, as a lady who was not on an equal footing with *mademoiselle d'Entragues* in point of beauty; but in recompence for this defect, her look expressed wit and penetration, her temper was extremely gay, and her conversation full of sprightliness, which qualifications *Henry IV.* greatly admired. The queen did not appear to take the same umbrage at this lady, or to have that aversion to her, as she shewed against the marchioness de Verneuil.

‡ This is not the person whom *Henry III.* employed to stab the duke of Guise, at the holding of the states of Blois. Having requested that prince to bestow a government on him as a recompence for the service he had done him, and his request being refused, he retired in discontent to Guienne, where very soon after he was pistoled by a gentleman in his neighbourhood, with whom he had a quarrel. *Cayet's Chronol. Novenn.* vol. I. b. i. page 133.

just restitution to Villars, saying, that this family had lost above six thousand livres of interest, since this sum became due to them; five hundred livres to the duke of Ventadour, who had advanced them for small expences, to shew, said Henry, that no one loses any thing by serving me; the sieur de Canisy received a like reimbursement; seventeen thousand one hundred and thirty-eight livres to La-Livre his apothecary: his majesty had been indebted to this man ever since the year 1592, and was partly the cause of his ruin; for his creditors arrested him, and threw him into prison, but the king indemnified him for all; nine thousand five hundred and forty-one livres to John Sellier, a merchant of the city of Troyes, who made this demand upon his majesty for a certain public building.

IN this summary of expences, I do not include the hundred and fifty thousand livres given to the count of Soissons, of the edict of Greffes, and of another edict, creating a small tax upon salt, in favour of the duke of Maienne, nor of many other gratuities and just payments: Zamet obtained of his majesty, the two offices of receivers at Rouen for two thousand crowns each; Henry caused the forest of L'Aigle to be divided by law, between him and the constable; but to prevent any dispute, he purchased the other part, and settled himself the time for cutting down the trees; he referred to his council, the offer that had been made him of twelve hundred thousand livres for the grant of an edict concerning the four deniers; he sent Nargonne, with his company, to guard the tower of Bouc, which he thought a place of great importance; but the duke of Mercœur, to whom this fortress belonged, raised some difficulties, which determined his majesty to treat with him for it, either by way of exchange, or by purchasing it.

GREAT part of the letters I received from this prince, turned upon his buildings, those of his new
silks

silk manufactures † especially, which he still carried on with the same ardour; his green-house in the Tuilleries, was the place he set apart for breeding the silkworms, the eggs having been sent him from Spain, and he hastened the building of it for that purpose. I laid, by his order, the foundations of the new edifices for his tapestry weavers, in the horse-market, which, requiring a larger extent of ground than could be procured, without encroaching a little upon a garden belonging to Montmagny, who opposed it strongly, the king ordered that he should be paid the sum he demanded for his ground, representing to him, however, that when the public utility was in question, an individual ought, on such occasions, to wave the consideration of his own particular interest. His majesty sent for Comands and La-Planche, from other countries, and gave them the care and superintendence of these manufactures: the new directors were not long before they made complaints, and disliked their situation, either because they did not find the profits equal to their hopes and expectations, or, that having advanced considerable sums themselves, they saw no great probability of getting them in again. The king got rid of their importunity by referring them to me, commanding me to act in such a manner by them that they should suffer no loss, but likewise that their gains should not be too considerable.

THE attention of this prince in conciliating the good will of the neighbouring powers who might possibly engage in his great designs, appeared likewise in his letters, as well as in his whole conduct. Whether we consider his extreme solicitude to fulfil all the laws of civility, and all the forms of ceremony,

† It appears also from the writings of that time, that a manufacturer of Provence called Serran, attempted to make stuffs of the finest parts of the bark of mulberry-trees: that the making of glass, looking-glass plates, and exact imitations of pearls, and many other manufactures, which the celebrated M. Colbert has since carried to so great perfection, were then set on foot.

mony, the obliging manner in which he treated their ambassadors and envoys, the seasonable presents he made them, or what is a benefit still more considerable, the care he took to reconcile them amongst themselves, by determining their differences; and thus beginning, with respect to them, to exercise the office of the arbitrator of Europe. His majesty sent me a letter of compliment unsealed, which he thought himself obliged to write to the dutchess des Deux-Ponts, commanding me to send it to her by one of my gentlemen, and with it a present of twelve or fifteen hundred crowns at least; a favour which that princess acknowledged with great gratitude and respect, in the letter she wrote to him in return. The duke of Bar having consulted Henry about his designed marriage with the princess of Mantua, which had been kept secret a long time, this prince took upon himself to give the duke of Mantua notice of it, and dispatched immediately a courier extraordinary to that court; though upon this article, he carried his œconomy so far, as to reproach his ambassador at Rome, for sending him couriers too frequently, and wrote to him to do so no more. The Venetian ambassador took leave of his majesty in November, and received from my hands a very considerable present: I likewise gave another to his secretary; nor did Guinterot the duke of Holstein's ambassador return less satisfied to his master; I shewed him the arsenal, and all the king's magazines; and that he might have a token to remember them by, I gave him, by his majesty's orders, one of his finest coats of arms to present to his master.

CLEMENT the eighth, died † on the third or fourth

† L'Etoile, who cannot be suspected of partiality when he speaks well of the pope and the catholics, confirms whatever M. de Sully has said in different parts of these Memoirs in praise of Clement VIII. "A pacific pope, says he, and, a good Frenchman: even the protestants did not hate him, he having always treated them with great gentleness, beyond any of his predecessors, even so far as to grant them passports to go and come freely to and from Rome, which was never done before by any pope."

fourth of March this year. The news of his death was brought to France by a courier, whom my brother dispatched to the king then at Chantilly, and by letters from the French cardinals whom Henry had sent to Rome the year before, and who were followed by cardinal Du-Perron, the end of the same year.

THERE having always been a great intimacy between this cardinal and myself, we corresponded by letters regularly, during the whole time that he continued on the other side of the Alps: he gave me notice of his arrival at Rome, in a letter dated the 28th of December, 1604, and wrote me another the 6th of February following. If he is to be believed, I had gained the friendship of the whole Roman consistory, who could not help praising my conduct towards the clergy, and in every thing that concerned the affairs of the church. In cardinal Bufalo particularly, ever since the treaty we had managed together, I had a zealous panegyrist at Rome; after his departure from Paris, I had written him a long letter, which he shewed to every body, as valuing himself upon the sentiments he knew I entertained of him: I shall not repeat here those praises, too flattering to my vanity, with which this letter of Du-Perron's was filled; those I have mentioned were introduced with no other design, but to shew (what
I thank

" pope. When he died, and long before his death, he was nothing but
" a mass of corruption, having totally lost the use both of his limbs and
" understanding; even his hands being putrified and burst, insomuch
" that when any one came to kiss his feet, which stunk as much as the
" rest of his body, they were obliged to hold up his hands, to enable him
" to give the benediction." Journal of the reign of Henry IV.

Peter Matthieu speaks of him with the highest praise, vol. II. b. iii. p. 328, and book iii. p. 696, as all the rest of our best writers also do, who find no fault with him, but for his being a little too much attached to his family. It was said of him, Clement VIII. was a good man, a good prelate, and a good prince; in opposition to his three predecessors, Pius V. Sixtus V. and Gregory XIII. the first of whom was said to be only a good prelate, the second only a good prince, and the third a good prelate and a good prince. Amelot de La-Houssaye, note 3, on the 31st of cardinal D'Ossat's letters.

I thank heaven for) that I was never tainted with that bitter and furious zeal, which the difference of religion inspires. The change of mine was the subject of frequent conversations between the cardinals and Du-Perron, who all wished for it with equal ardour; cardinal Aldobrandin often declared that he never said mass without remembering me; the pope expressed himself almost in the same terms to Du-Perron, when he was conducted to audience, by my brother: he had a long conversation with him concerning me, and particularly upon the means of working (what, in the language of Rome, was called) my conversion: it is indeed an extraordinary thing, that a minister cannot from his own countrymen obtain the same justice, which foreigners, who surely have no less reason to hate him, are capable of rendering to the disinterestedness of his conduct, and the rectitude of his intentions. Du-Perron concluded his letter with telling me, that he, no less earnestly than the other cardinals, wished to see me completely united to persons who esteemed and loved me so much, since I had not (these are his words) “ more “ friends at Geneva than at Rome.”

My gratitude was equally engaged by the testimony he bore in favour of my brother, assuring me, that he had gained so strongly upon the affections of the Italians, that no Frenchman had, for an hundred years past, acquired an equal reputation in Italy †: he acknowledged himself highly obliged to my brother, for his politeness, in coming with an honourable train of the French and Roman nobility, to meet him nine leagues from Rome.

THE king had, in an especial manner, recommended it to the French cardinals, to have strict attention to the interest of the nation, in the approaching

† This commendation seems not at all extravagant. P. Matthieu, speaking of the services the count of Bethune did the king at Rome, calls him a man of great abilities for that court, vol. II. b. iii. p. 681. Siri every where speaks of him in the same manner.

ing election of a Pope†; and this injunction was again repeated to them, when he was informed by the arrival of another courier from Rome, on the 28th of March, that, according to all appearances, there would be high debates in the conclave, on account of the great number of candidates, each of whom indeed was worthy the pontificate. However, these difficulties were so soon removed, that, on Friday the 1st of April, which was two days after the arrival of this courier, the holy see was filled by the cardinal de Medicis, otherwise called the cardinal of Florence, who took the name of Leo the eleventh. The choice falling upon a man related to the queen, and of the same name with her, was a certain testimony that his most Christian majesty well served by the Italian nation§.

THE king, when the news came to Paris, gave public demonstrations of his joy, which he was desirous should be as general as it was sincere. He wrote to me not to spare his ordnance, and to send orders to my government, and to every other part of the kingdom, to follow the example I should set them in Paris. Messieurs the bishop and governor of Paris, the president Bellièvre, and the king's counsellors of parliament, the other bishops, and all persons in a public character, received orders to have *Te Deum* sung, and fire-works played off, in every place under their jurisdiction. It may be truly said, that never had the advancement of any person to the papal dignity been celebrated with greater magnificence: however, this could not prolong a moment the duration of Leo's pontificate, who lived but a few days afterwards, and probably was dead at the very

† See the particulars of the two subsequent conclaves in Matthieu, *ibid.* 698, and other historians.

§ "The making Leo XI. Pope," says Du-Plessis-Mornay, spitefully, "cost the king 300,000 crowns." *Life of M. Du-Plessis-Mornay*, b. ii. p. 305.

very time when these honours were paying him in France †.

HIS majesty was in some degree comforted for the loss of this Pope, by the person whom the conclave chose for his successor ; this was Paul V. formerly cardinal Borgeſe : two things concurred to his election, which made it highly agreeable to his majesty, the favour the French nation shewed him by her cardinals, and his own personal merit, which rendered him worthy of that distinction, and which they hoped to see rewarded by a happy pontificate. Two cardinals thus successively placed by his most Christian majesty on the papal throne, left Europe no room to doubt of the high esteem he was in with the Italians : the king was sensible of it himself, and the extreme satisfaction it gave him was sufficiently seen by the orders he issued immediately after receiving the news of the new pontiff's advancement (which was on the 25th of May) to celebrate it with the same rejoicings as Leo the XI's had been, except only, that no fireworks were played off; the reason his majesty gave for this omission, to those who might possibly be offended at it, was, that this piece of respect had been paid to the cardinal of Florence as an ally of the royal family : as to the rest, all was performed with the same splendor, and the king himself was present at the *Te Deum*, which he ordered to be sung at Fontainebleau. I received on this occasion three letters from his majesty of the same date, which were merely ceremonial upon my different offices, and as a person in a public character ; he likewise addressed to the chancellor, Sillery, and to me, a discourse, in which he gave a relation in form of what had just passed in the conclave.

PAUL V. did not disappoint the hopes that were conceived of his pontificate : the Roman council seemed

† He was taken ill on the 17th of April, on his return from the proceſſion to S. John de Lateran, which is made on the new Pope's taking possession of his dignity, and died the 27th.

seemed to pursue exactly the same measures they had done under Clement VIII. Nothing was prescribed to Barberini, who was sent into France in the quality of nuncio, beyond what had been done to cardinal Bufalo; and he was ordered by cardinal Aldobrandini, and by his holiness likewise, to address himself only to me, in whatever affair he had to solicit. I know not what cardinal Bufalo (from whom this advice certainly came) could have said to my advantage, in preference to so many other persons, who carried, even to servility, their respect and attachment to the holy see. My brother, in a letter he wrote to me at that time, told me, I could not too highly acknowledge the obligations I was under to this cardinal, or repay with too much warmth of friendship, the regard and esteem he expressed for me.

THIS letter of Bethune's is dated November the 12th; for he was still at Rome, although he had depended upon returning to France immediately after the pope's installation; but some new orders which he had received detained him, and he did not return till several days after the date of this letter. His holiness so much regretted his being recalled, that he would have wrote to the king, to entreat he would continue him his ambassador at Rome, if my brother had not prevented him. He had entirely got rid of that appearance of timidity, reserve, and perhaps coolness, which he had shewn at the beginning of his negotiation; and as soon as he was accustomed to the business transacted at the Roman court, had changed it into a wise and prudent confidence, from whence he drew all the success he could hope for, in those affairs which were intrusted to him. The pope continued to pay him the highest honours, and gave orders, that he should be received, and treated with the most distinguishing marks of respect, in all the cities of his dominions through which he passed. All this I advance with so much

the more freedom and security, although upon the faith of cardinal Du-Perron my friend, who thought himself obliged to write to me upon my brother's departure, as this cardinal gave the same account to the king, and represented to him that no one was better qualified than Bethune, for a place in the council for foreign affairs, in what regarded Italy; as he had a full and perfect knowledge of all that related to that country †.

IN this letter Du-Perron thanked me, for having supported him with his majesty, against those who had endeavoured to disappoint him in his expectations of the post of great almoner, which had lately been promised to him; as also for some trifling services his brother had received from me: he added an article relating to La-Fin. This man, who has been mentioned in marechal Biron's process, had, by an effect of his natural levity of temper, left France, and embraced the protestant religion. The king, who observed him heedfully, as he did all who had once given room for suspicion, caused him to be stopped in Italy, and imprisoned in the tower of Nonne. La-Fin applied to cardinal Du-Perron, who had formerly been his friend, to procure him the favour of being carried into France and tried there, if it appeared that there was any just grounds for complaint against him, or if not, that he should be set at liberty; and Du-Perron intreated my interest with the king, in favour of La-Fin's request.

THE letter which, of all that I received from the other side of the Alps, deserves most notice, is that the pope took the trouble to write to me, and of which, being very long, I shall only give the substance here. As in appearance the pope wrote to me

† Cardinal D'Ossat himself, though, according to all appearances, far from being satisfied with M. de Sully's behaviour in regard to him, speaks in the most advantageous terms of that ambassador, in his letter to the king, of the 10th of December, 1601, in that to M. de Villeroi, of the 2d of December, 1602, and some others.

me on the subject of my brother, he began with praising, in the highest terms, his conduct, his piety, and his behaviour, full of respect and deference for all the cardinals, and himself, before he was advanced to the pontificate. From this his holiness passed to the regret he felt that the obstacles I raised to my conversion, hindered him from resigning himself as openly as he would otherwise have done to the friendship he had for me. His piety and his zeal furnished him with a thousand motives to persuade me to change my religion; he assured me, that if he was not withheld by the station he filled, he would, without hesitation, come into France, and labour himself to convert me: he proposed to my imitation the examples of the ancient counts of Flanders, my ancestors, particularly that of Saint-Alpin de Bethune, for whom he had been told I had a great veneration: to these he added the examples of the first saints, and most illustrious kings of France; which naturally introduced the eulogium of the present king, and afterwards that of Clement VIII. on account of the services I had rendered this pope, for which he thanked me with great warmth of affection, as well as for all the good offices which the apostolical legates and nuncios of his predecessors and his own had received from me. This brief, which was every where filled with pathetic exhortations to change my religion, concluded with the most ardent prayers for that event.

I ANSWERED this obliging letter with all the respect and deference it deserved, without saying any thing upon the article of my change of religion: I was satisfied with praising the virtues and great qualities of his holiness, with assuring him of my profound respect for his person, my readiness to serve him, and ardent desire to be useful to him: my whole letter was filled with the most grateful acknowledgments for the sentiments he professed for me, and the most earnest wishes for his prosperity; and,

without affecting my religion, I forgot no instance of respect due to the character of a sovereign prince, and to that in particular which a whole church gives to the pope ; and therefore did not scruple to make use of the expression of kissing his feet ; which doubtless would have displeased my brethren the protestants. Paul V. upon receiving this letter, said publicly, that it gave him more pleasure than any thing which had happened during his pontificate : he read it twice over successively, saying each time, that I had done him too much honour : he lavished many encomiums upon the style and turn of expression, and said, that my praises of him had robbed him of some of those he had designed to give me. He was eager to thank me by a second brief, if Du-Perron himself had not opposed an excess of kindness, which might have produced some inconvenience to me. This cardinal was witness of the pope's exclamations in favour of me ; for my letter being written in French, he was sent for by his holiness to interpret it. Du-Perron still continued to reside in Rome, which drew him into very considerable expences : he observed to me, that, in the space of one year only, he had laid out above twenty thousand crowns, in the expences of his journies, his entry, the conclave, furniture, and habits for himself and his household ; all which had reduced him to such necessity, that he intreated me to oblige the farmers of his abbey of Lire to pay him, they having refused to make their usual remittances, under pretence of an arret of council relating to the claims he had upon certain woods.

ALL the rest of Italy began to entertain the same favourable dispositions for France as the holy see, except the duke of Savoy, who was still influenced by the Spanish policy, as may be conceived by the new intrigues, carried on this year for the duke's interest by a man named Chevalier. With regard to Spain, France still continued upon its former footing with her ;

her; they were at peace indeed, but that peace clouded with disgusts, and embittered by reciprocal complaints.

THE negotiations which had commenced between the Spanish court and the States of the United Provinces not succeeding, hostilities were renewed as soon as the season permitted them to take the field. The king of Spain sent to the Swiss Cantons, to demand a passage through their territories for the troops he sent into Flanders, that they might avoid taking their route by Ponte de Grésin, which would have greatly retarded their march. To obtain the grant of this request, he told them, that his troops should pass through their States by twenty at a time, and that their number should not exceed two thousand. He added, however, another thousand afterwards. The king, when he received this advice from Caumartin, believing that Spinola, who was to command their troops, would take the same route, thought it would not be impossible for prince Maurice, at the head of a party of French scouts, to seize upon this general's person, "which, said Henry, will be worth one victory." He wrote to me to communicate this hint to Aërsens, and through him to the prince of Orange; but I was informed almost immediately afterwards, by a Spanish courier, who passed through Paris in his way to Flanders, that Spinola had altered his route, and would arrive in Paris in three or four days: which produced such a change of measures, that his majesty thought himself obliged to render his passage as secure to him as if he had passed through the French territories. Spinola requesting the honour of an audience of his majesty, this prince believed that he had orders to make him some new proposals. This, however, was an inference not made by me; and when Henry mentioned it to me, I replied, that Spinola, thinking the road through Paris the shortest as well as the securest, he conceived it his duty at the same time to

to pay his respects to his majesty ; and that I was persuaded he would talk to him only of general things, though perhaps he wished to have it otherwise believed in Flanders : accordingly it fell out just as I had imagined.

SPINOLA divided his army into two bodies ; he gave the command of one to count de Buquay †, with orders to pass the Rhine with it between Cologne and Bonne, where he afterwards threw up intrenchments to hinder other troops from attempting this pass. Whatever was the design of the Spaniards by this work, it ought to have roused the German princes from their lethargy. The other body Spinola had led towards Friesland, where the allied army followed him a long time. The report which was spread in July of this general's death, was no better founded than that of his being beaten, which prevailed some time afterwards. It was foreseen that he had a design upon Linghen, although this was a very strong place ; and accordingly he marched thither and invested it. By means of a mole which was cut by prince Maurice, Spinola was himself besieged in his quarters, and his trenches laid under water ; so that it was believed he would be obliged to abandon his enterprize ; in which case it might be expected, that the prince would besiege and carry the fort Patience. Yet, notwithstanding this, Linghen surrendered in September, which was all that was done this campaign. Spinola was, on the 24th of September, still before the place he had taken, and had carried his views no farther than to put himself out of a condition to be attacked. The troops of both parties were greatly diminished ; prince Maurice, on his side, threw succours into Co-voërdën and Breton, which covered and secured Friesland. Du-Terrail, in the mean time, at the head of some supplies sent him by Spinola, attacked and surprised Bergen-op-zoom, but he was repulsed with some loss.

— THIS

† Charles de Longueval, count of Buquay.

THIS man was a French officer, and one of the feditious cabal; he thought proper to retire to Antwerp, and offered his service to the archdukes. His majesty was not so much offended with this procedure, although he had promised him, in a letter he wrote expressly for that purpose, that he would do nothing contrary to his duty, as he was for his having corrupted Dunnes, the younger Nangis, and Chef-boutonne, who it was reported were preparing to go thither with a whole company. A footman belonging to Du-Terrail was arrested in Auvergne, whither he had brought some packets, but all of little consequence. He endeavoured to prevail upon his wife to come to him in Antwerp, by highly extolling the friendship and civility he received there. The same example had been set by Saint-Denis-Mailloc, and some other gentlemen, who had offered their service to the archdukes; in which they certainly neither acted like good politicians, nor dutiful subjects.

THIS was but one of the least causes of complaint which Henry had against Spain. The support which that crown gave to the French mutineers; the part she had in their meetings at Limosin and Perigord; the enterprises which, in concert with them, she meditated upon the towns and coasts of Provence; were grievances of a higher nature: and, all well weighed together, his majesty was of opinion, that he ought to spare himself the trouble of making them useless reproaches, or of doing himself justice by such means as would have given the Spaniards reason to reproach him in their turn: he was even more solicitous about the strict observation of the last agreements he had made with them on trade, than, after such a conduct, they could have expected. Captain Yvon Baudelonis brought a Spanish vessel into Rochelle, which the commander alledged was Dutch, and belonged to the prince of Orange: the Rochellers thought it their duty to acquaint the
king

king with it, who, in his answer, praised their conduct, quoted to them the article of the treaty on that subject, which was in express words, and caused the same satisfaction to be given to Spain which her ambassadors could have demanded.

THE council of Madrid, struggling between their natural haughtiness on one side, and a consciousness of their own weakness and the need they had of our assistance on the other, knew not in what manner to behave to us: the same spirit actuated them in all their proceedings, and made them, at one time, endeavour to disunite us from the states; at another, complain vehemently, that under pacific appearance, with respect to them, we acted as their real enemies. They afterwards affected a strict correspondence with England: but none of their artifices succeeded. The king, secure in the secret knowledge of his own strength, despised their threats; and myself in particular was too well acquainted with the disposition of the king of England, to believe that he would ever do more for them than he could be prevailed upon to do for us.

THEY were, besides, upon such ill terms with his Britannic majesty, that it was not possible for them long to save these appearances; for as they never staid a considerable time in any country, without giving proofs of that spirit of cabal which they exercised throughout all Europe, James had notice of some of their secret practices in his dominions, which inflamed him with rage against them. Indeed there needed no less than such a discovery to recal this prince to his first engagements with me, which had suffered some injury during the following years, by that fatal prejudice in favour of pacific measures which I have already mentioned, or rather by a real timidity. Beaumont, whose embassy was at its close, was surprised to find James resume this subject himself, and talk to him in terms very different from those he commonly made use of. He gave him
letters

letters for Henry and for me, and likewise a verbal charge, that when he rendered an account of his negotiation to the king of France, he should insist particularly upon that article which regarded the succession to the empire, which was what he dwelt upon most in his letter to Henry : he exhorted him to join from that moment with him in endeavours to restore to the electors, before the death of the present emperor, the freedom of election, with all their other rights ; and effectually to exclude the son, brother, or most distant kinsman of his Imperial majesty, from a possibility of gaining the empire, by preventing any one of them from being named king of the Romans. And, lastly, to have it decreed, that the person, whoever he might be, that was to succeed the Emperor, should renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of Bohemia.

BEAUMONT, when at his return to Paris, he executed the commission given him by his Britannic majesty, told the king that he had a letter from this prince for me, which, as I was then at Châtelleraut, his majesty opened. He was desirous of trying if this new policy would find any favourers at court ; and for that purpose he communicated this scheme of king James with regard to the Empire to two or three of his ministers, but with some reserve, and by way of consulting them upon it, taking care not to give them any hint of his great designs. On this occasion Henry found no flatterers : there was not one of them who did not give a proof that he was capable of opposing a scheme which appeared to him unreasonable and unjust. Henry stopped there, and waited for my return, to examine it more closely with me. But as this conversation turned upon many particulars, which appeared of such consequence to his majesty, that he made me swear not to discover it to any person whatever, that oath obliges me now to silence*.

HENRY,

* I do not know whether the uncertainty wherein this prince for
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HENRY, when he gave me my letter from king James, read it to me himself : his Britannic majesty there informed me of the proposal which he had enjoined Beaumont to make to the king, and represented to me the interest I had in supporting it, in a manner which, though general, had nevertheless so direct a view to the reflections I had made to him on this subject, that I could not doubt but he would, from time to time, be more convinced of the reasonableness and utility of that plan of policy I had sketched out to him. I shall not repeat the assurances of friendship and esteem with which this letter was filled. Beaumont was commissioned to make me many more in his name : neither was he forgot, King James bestowed so many praises upon his personal merit, and his skill in business, as raised him highly in Henry's esteem. If this prince had been still ignorant of the confidence his Britannic majesty placed in me, his letter was sufficient to convince him of it : he indeed appeared much pleased with it, and

some time remained, was not at least a part of this secret : whether he ought not to get himself declared emperor : he even thought it necessary to submit this design to the examination of his three ministers, whom he called together to give their opinions on it ; as appears from the 8474th vol. of the MSS. in the king's library, where their deliberations on this matter are related at large. It is remarkable, that those three, scarcely in any one instance, happened to be of the same sentiments : in the present case, one advised him to get himself elected Emperor ; the second dissuaded him from it ; and the third (more favourable to the house of Austria) would have persuaded him to act in favour of the archduke Matthias. " The king, adds the author, who had attentively listened to this " last, rose up, and opening the window to let in the fresh air, raised his " eyes and hands towards heaven, and said aloud, May it please God to " form and create in my heart the resolves I ought to take on what you " have said, and men shall execute them ; Adieu, gentlemen, I must take " a walk. Thus ended this conference." Though this project did not absolutely clash with his grand design, there is nevertheless a reasonable foundation for doubting whether he actually ever formed it : it is highly probable the whole was only a feint, concerted between him and the duke of Sully, to put his council on a wrong scent in regard to the great armaments he was making : the count of Beaumont, his ambassador at London, according to Siri, *Ibid.* 166, endeavoured to inspire him with this notion.

and commanded me to cultivate his friendship carefully; a command which I received with great cheerfulness.

WE have now seen the political state of almost all Europe except Germany; there are perhaps some observations still to be made upon the several Germanic cantons; but that little which is necessary to be known with respect to our affairs, will mix itself imperceptibly with what I have to say of the seditious cabal in France. This article will lead us into sufficient length, as it was the occasion of my journey into Poitou this year, and of his majesty's to Limosin; which took up four of the finest months of the season.

THE reader has doubtless, ere this, reflected upon the extravagance of an association, composed indifferently of Roman catholics and protestants; the Roman catholics, Spaniards, and the protestants, French. A party acting upon interests so opposite, that nothing but continual violence could conciliate them; a body of which the duke of Bouillon was the head, and Spain the soul. In this slight view it appears so singular and monstrous, that the reader cannot apprehend any dangerous consequences from a confederacy so ill sorted. I indeed had always the same opinion of it: but as all factions which include repeated acts of disobedience against the sovereign cannot but be very prejudicial to the state, even supposing that they are disappointed in their principal aim, yet it must be acknowledged, that good policy requires we should make use of every method to hinder them from forming, or when formed to ruin them: the rebels were in this case; they had neither prudence in their resolutions, nor much appearance that they would ever produce any worthy to be feared. However, as it was not fit to suffer such attempts to be made with impunity, his majesty neglected none of the informations he received, and which this year were more numerous than ever. Murat, lieutenant-

lieutenant-general of Riom, wrote to me the beginning of March, that he had very lately been informed of some important particulars; for the truth of which, although he could not answer, yet he thought himself obliged to communicate them to me; and that I might be better able to judge of them, the same person from whom he received them was the bearer of his letter.

As soon as I began to examine this man, I perceived, from the first questions I asked him, that his disposition would involve so many persons of the highest quality at court, that without going any farther, I judged it of consequence enough to require that his majesty should be present at his examination. The king was then at Saint-Germain; I wrote to him, and, in cyphers which he only understood, marked the names of these persons. The king came to Paris immediately, to examine this informer himself, who assured him, that all those persons (and he named them) held correspondences in the chief cities on the coasts of Provence and Languedoc; all which he specified, namely, Toulon, Marseilles, Narbonne, Bayonne, Blaye, and some others; that the count of Auvergne was upon the point of making an attempt upon Saint-Flour when he was arrested; that all these secret practices were favoured by Spain, and the money distributed for that purpose, furnished by this crown. According to this man, the conspirators had already received several thousand pistoles from the catholic king, expected still more, and even depended upon some supplies of troops; which however, he said, would not be sent, until they had openly declared themselves enemies of the state, by the invasion of those places before-mentioned, and of many other maritime forts.

THE truth of these accusations appeared very doubtful, from a circumstance which it is apparent did not escape Murat; and this was, that the informer had

had been a domestic of Calvairac*, in whose house he might indeed have heard some conversation on these subjects: but why advance as certain, what had been there proposed as merely possible? He had received some bad usage from his master, and doubtless the desire of revenge stimulated him to this proceeding: what cannot that motive do, joined to the hope of gain! which it was well known was so much the greater, as the depositions which were made, appeared of more consequence to his majesty. There needed not so many considerations to induce him to aggravate matters beyond the truth.

I CAN, with much more certainty, relate what passed in the synods and other particular assemblies, which were held by the protestants in Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, and the neighbouring provinces. In these assemblies, a spirit of revolt and mutiny always prevailed: among other very bold proposals, it passed by a plurality of voices, that his majesty's permission should be asked to call a general assembly of the protestants, without explaining to him the motive of this request, or the subject to be treated in the assembly. The king, to whom their petition was actually presented, did not refuse to comply with it, but declared (as he had a right to do) that he would prescribe to them the place, the matter, and form of this assembly, and send thither a person to represent himself†: Châtelleraut was the place he appointed, and myself the person who was to appear there, with a commission, to take care of his majesty's interest. The protestants, those I mean who fomented the seditions in this body, would rather, I believe, have had their request denied, than granted upon such conditions; they alledged, that, if I joined the title of the king's representative to the quality of governor of the province

* John de Sudrie, baron of Calvairac, a gentleman of the province of Querci.

† Life of Du-Plessis-Mornay, b. II.

province in which this assembly was to be held, nothing could shield them against the authority I should not fail to arrogate to myself. It may be imagined that, at this time, my brethren expected less favour from me than the most abhorred papist.

THE method which the rebels had recourse to, was to present another petition to his majesty, signed by two or three hundred persons at least; in which they declared, that, upon more mature deliberation, they found it necessary to entreat he would defer calling this assembly. As soon as Henry was informed of this disposition of the protestants, he had expected to receive another petition from them, and, in a letter which he wrote to me from Fontainebleau, dated March the 30th, he desired I would advise him what to do upon this occasion: I had received the same information as his majesty, and used my utmost endeavours to discover the true state of things; for which purpose, the journey I had taken the preceding year into Poitou was of great service to me: however, nothing appeared to me very positive, except that three or four of the most seditious amongst them had endeavoured to raise some disturbance; but with so little success, that the fires they had kindled evaporated in smoke. I may venture to affirm, that my letters and discourse to the least prejudiced persons in the party, with my solicitude in other respects, had greatly contributed to reduce matters to this point. This it was, upon which the advice and the answer the king demanded of me turned.

IT is certain at least that his majesty never heard more of this second petition which had made so much noise, and by that he was able to guess the nature of all those other reports: but he still continued to receive, in the beginning of April, so many new informations, and those of such consequence, and in appearance so well founded, that he suffered himself to be driven along with the torrent. It was reported, and that even by

by the first president of Toulouse, and many other persons in Guienne, that the protestants, both in that province and in Languedoc, had uttered many disrespectful speeches against his majesty : they added, that these people had resolved to send a deputation, to prevail upon him to recal his grant for holding the assembly at Châtelleraut. In another letter, dated April 7, Henry ordered me to come to him the day after Easter, to assist him in taking a resolution upon these new letters, and to be present at the reception of the protestant deputies ; and lastly, to explain to them his intentions in such a manner, as became his majesty to use with subjects who, in some measure, presumed to give laws to their sovereign. It is certain, that although this prince had been willing to take the trouble of doing this himself, he was not in a condition ; for during this whole month, he was afflicted with frequent returns of the gout, which had obliged him to have recourse to a remedy that never failed : this was a proper regimen, which he observed with great strictness during part of the month of May. Of all his council, he had no one about his person but Sillery, and him his majesty did not think fit for such a commission.

ALL these circumstances I relate from Henry's letter, which he concluded with telling me, that he would permit me to return to Paris as soon as this affair was terminated. In my answer, which I wrote to this prince, while I attended his orders for my departure, I represented to him two things, to which, in my opinion, no reply could be made ; and these were, that if his majesty would not believe, what however was absolutely certain, that all those informations which were given him, either with great mystery or great noise, were nothing but the murmurs of some persons hired expressly for that purpose in the provinces, he was then much to blame to suffer his peace to be thus disturbed, when it was in his own power to reduce these rebels to silence. It was upon

upon these transactions, that my enemies suggested those suspicions of me to his majesty, which produced that disgust I have given an account of in the former book: and it may be easily imagined, that while that disgust continued, he had no inclination to chuse me either for his confidant or his agent with the protestants. My return to favour happened in the manner I have already related: he told me, that he could not give a more convincing proof of his being perfectly cured of all his suspicions, than by confirming me in the employment he had at first destined for me. I intreated this prince to send any other person rather than me to Châtelleraut, invested with his authority, because I was apprehensive of affording, without designing it, some new matter for calumny: but Henry reasoned in a quite different manner; he believed, that, after what had passed, he owed to himself, to me, and to my accusers, such an incontestable proof of his good opinion of me, as the shewing me to the public in a post, wherein the sacrifice he expected I should make him of my nearest interests, would set my innocence in the clearest point of view, and silence all malice and detraction; and added graciously, that my enemies themselves had just put him upon his guard against their insinuations, therefore I had nothing to fear. Then, after twice embracing me, with all his usual expressions of tenderness, he ordered me to return to Paris, to put all affairs in such order, that they might receive no prejudice from my absence; to draw up memorials of all those which related to my commission; and to compose myself the instructions which I was to receive in writing from his hand, and with the consent of his council.

THE king, in the mean time, went to pass part of June at Saint-Germain. In the beginning of this month, a defluxion of humours fell upon his foot *, which

* "I went to the arsenal," says Henry IV. speaking of one of his fits of the gout, "with my wife; M. de Sully said to me, Sire, you have

which he hoped to disperse by the exercise of hunting, taking the precaution to have his boot cut open upon the part affected: while this fit lasted, he was not able to apply to any business, although, as he wrote me word, the preservation of one half of his kingdom should depend upon it. When his disorder was abated, he returned to Paris, where he prepared for his journey to Monceaux, after giving all the necessary orders for my departure.

I PUT down on paper, all the questions I desired to be resolved, with regard to the several parts of my function as representative of the king; the answers to which were to make up the ground of the instructions upon which I had just agreed with his majesty. This paper I sent to Villeroi and Fresne, who returned it with answers to each question, adding, that if I found them satisfactory, I might reduce them to such a form as I judged proper. I was resolved to have two of these papers, one more general, and the other in the form of a particular memorial, joined to the former: these two papers regulated the manner in which I was to speak and act with the protestants, as I am going to shew.

UPON the first view, the occasion of the assembly at Châtelleraut, did not appear of such importance as it really was, either with respect to the king or the protestant body, being granted for no other purpose but to examine the deputies sent by this body to his majesty, the term of whose offices was expired, and to appoint others to succeed them, an affair which did not require so solemn an assembly as this was likely to be. But, upon a closer examination, we shall find, that the real aim
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“ have money and never see it: which really is true enough; for I am
“ satisfied with knowing I have money, without amusing myself with the
“ pleasure of looking at it. We went together to the Bastile, and he
“ shewed us what was doing there: I assure you, at that instant I was at-
“ tacked by the gout, which brought to my mind the proverb, Those who
“ have the gout, have riches.” Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. p. 613.

of some of the chief heads of the protestant party, was to take advantage of this assembly, to extend their rights, and to procure the grant of new favours and privileges; a design which his majesty could not better return, than by seizing likewise this opportunity to recal them, with more solemnity, to the observation of the old regulations, the wisdom and utility of which were sufficiently evinced by the effects they had produced; and, instead of suffering them to be infringed, to give them new force, and exact a more strict obedience to them; so that after this, the protestant body in France, being persuaded of the rectitude of the king's intentions, and of his firm resolution to maintain his rights, must either resolve openly to despise his authority, or return with sincerity to their duty; this was the principal point of my commission.

To attain this end, I was enjoined to fix their view principally upon the edict of pacification issued at Nantes, as a fundamental piece, which might serve them equally for a rule to judge of their conduct towards the king, and of his towards them. I was to shew them that this edict, which had suffered so many misinterpretations, being the basis of their liberty, the proof of their fidelity to their king, of their attachment to the public good, and of those sentiments which their religion itself ought to inspire them with; if they observed it exactly, they would neither swerve on one side, or the other, any more than Henry had done, who had religiously fulfilled all the obligations it had laid upon him. The free exercise of their religion, the peaceable enjoyment of their estates and employments, the gentleness of the government, the tranquil but solid situation of affairs, daily confirmed and strengthened the security of those promises made by the prince, well known by a long train of effects; and lastly, by the satisfactory answers he had given to every thing of importance expressed in their memorials; all these were
so

so many pledges of faith in him, which the protestants ought to return by such instances of submission and gratitude, as a good and indulgent prince has a right to exact from his subjects: their own interest likewise made it necessary for them to follow this plan of conduct, since, if they justly considered the true state of things, it was they only who run any risques by an infraction.

THE inference to be drawn from all these considerations, and which I was ordered to represent to the assembly, was, that they ought to appear far from having a design of demanding that any alteration should be made in the edict of Nantes; such as that of being empowered to chuse themselves a head, either within or without the kingdom, any other than the king himself, who merited that title from them on many accounts. As it could not be foreseen what other demands the protestants would bethink themselves of making, they left it to me to chuse proper arguments either for denying, or eluding them: I was only ordered to signify to them in plain terms, that for the future they must not expect such general assemblies would be permitted; and that this, which his majesty had consented should be held, to instruct them altogether in their duty, and to exhort them to fulfil it, should be in the place of that which they had resolved, in the last synod of Gap, to entreat his majesty to grant them.

THE reasons for this cessation of extraordinary assemblies were sufficiently plain; for they were convened, either on account of some affairs relating to the discipline of the church, some matters of law and police, or lastly for some favour they wanted to obtain of the king: for the first, the protestants have their provincial synods, which his majesty, by abolishing the extraordinary assemblies, made no encroachment upon. All he demanded with respect to them, and certainly nothing could be more just, was, that they should confine their deliberations to religious affairs; whereas,

whereas, under this pretence, they often treated of such as related merely to the civil government. If the design be to settle something relating to the administration of justice and the police, there is no reason for excepting them from the general rule, by which all controverted matters of those two kinds, are referred to the tribunals of the judges, and the ordinary magistrates ; and lastly, those which are matters of favour, and depend merely upon the king's indulgence, are to be treated by way of petition and supplication : nothing is more useless than those great expences and commotions, which an extraordinary assembly occasions, for an affair in itself of little importance.

THERE was another reason for suppressing these assemblies, which, although I cannot disguise, I may soften a little, by barely saying, that they often gave occasion for judgments not very favourable for the protestant party ; for the public are willing enough to shut their eyes upon wise and prudent determinations, though not to the intrigues of the disaffected, who, in these tumultuous assemblies, remain confounded with persons more equitable, but whose proceedings are less taken notice of. If it happened that any of these articles, or others of the same nature, should be contested at Châtelleraut, it was left to me to put an end to them in whatever manner I judged best ; and I was even permitted to take those advantages which the profession of one common faith afforded me, to merit their confidence and engage their votes ; it was only in cases of obstinacy and declared disobedience, that I was obliged to inform his majesty, and suspend all resolutions, till I had received his orders ; as likewise not to suffer the assembly to break up without his leave.

WITH respect to the article of the deputies, it is necessary to inform the reader, that the protestants always kept two men in their party at court, one for the ecclesiastic order, the other for the secular ; they were

were to treat with his majesty's ministers, or with the prince himself, upon all affairs necessary to be communicated to him, and to receive his orders concerning them. These deputies entered upon this office by election, which was renewed every three years, when others succeeded to their place. If we go back to the source of this institution, we shall not find that the protestants had any legal title to this pretended right of residence and nomination of the deputies, which they asserted so strenuously; it was not mentioned in the edicts, nor even in the writings that contained these private articles, which were sometimes separate from the treaties: it was only a custom merely tolerated and first introduced on account of the resistance some sovereign courts made to registering the edict of Nantes, and only to be continued till that was done. However, his majesty had no inclination to deprive the protestants of this privilege: all he required, and this was one of the principal points of my commission, was that, for the nomination of those deputies, they should adhere to one of those two methods prescribed by him to their own deputies, when they desired leave to hold the assembly, and if possible to the second, by which his majesty expected that the protestants should present to him the names of six persons chosen from their body, out of which he should name two who were most agreeable to him.

It might possibly happen, that the heads of the party would endeavour to elude those regulations which his majesty proposed to get received in the assembly, and for that purpose affect to confine themselves to this single question; an artifice I was likewise to prevent. As to the affair of Orange, which it was certainly expected would be brought upon the carpet (as indeed it was) I had orders to represent to them, that Henry had laboured in vain to manage it so as that this city, which he could not refuse to restore to the prince of Orange, might by him be left to the French protestants. All
therefore

therefore that could be done upon this occasion, was to prevail upon Maurice, that in the room of Blaccons, who commanded there, and who himself desired permission to leave it, he would place a protestant officer as his lieutenant, whom they might oblige to take the oath of obedience to his majesty. I shall resume this affair in the sequel. Such were my general instructions, dated July 3d 1605, and signed Henry and Forget.

ALL the difference between these general instructions, and the particular memorial joined to them, consisted in this, that the latter made no mention of the declared subject of the assembly, but was confined to some other questions which might probably be discussed there, and tended to prevent those designs from being effected, which it was suspected the heads of the cabal would endeavour to get the multitude's approbation of. This detail, which was not inserted in the first writing, because there was a probability of its being needless, was however of great use to me; and it was upon that account, that I made a separate memorial of these instructions.

THEY imported, that I should not suffer the assembly either in their debates or in writing, to advance any thing injurious to the pope, or to stir up again that trifling doctrine of Antichrist, worthy of the synod of Gap, where it had taken birth; that no person should have a seat in the assembly in the quality of a deputy, from any individual whatever, not even from Lefdiguieres himself; that they should not, as they had done in that synod, receive letters from foreign princes, particularly from the duke of Bouillon. It seemed of importance to his majesty, that an ungrateful subject, such as Bouillon, should be publicly known to have rendered himself unworthy of any favour from his sovereign. The manner in which others, who might be ranked in this class, should behave in the assembly, was to regulate the treatment they were to receive from me.

If the quality of president of the assembly, which
his

his majesty earnestly wished they would confer upon me, and which, on this occasion, he would not have been offended with me for accepting, should not be sufficient to give weight to what I said to them, I was to join to it the authority of governor of the province; and, as opportunities offered, and the disposition of their minds required, I might give them to understand, that the king was not ignorant of the designs of the seditious protestants; provided that from thence they did not conclude, he was informed of the places where they were carried on.

THERE was so much the more appearance that the article of the cautionary towns given to the protestants would be discussed, as the term, to which the possessions of these places was prolonged by his majesty, was now near expired; and if this should happen, I was to hint, either to the assembly in general, or the deputies in particular, that, provided his majesty found in them that readiness to comply with his measures, as he required, he would willingly agree to a farther prolongation. I had orders not to give them any absolute assurances of this favour, but to mention it as what might be granted, and to promise I would obtain it of his majesty: although I had then in my possession the letter of grant for that prolongation, I only obliged myself to keep it secret, 'till I received the king's commands to make use of it.

As to those fortified towns which had been given to the duke of Bouillon, and which from thence forward were to have no share of the funds destined by the king for their maintenance, they were to be declared for ever excluded from that advantage, as likewise from all hope of ever being paid the sum promised by the edict of Nantes for the support of the garrisons. This sum, at that time, amounted to five hundred seventy-three thousand four hundred and thirty-two livres, of which ninety thousand

thousand livres had been already cut off. Nor were they to expect a new appropriation for those funds which had been assigned them. I had already received some petitions upon these several suppressions; to which I always answered, that I thought this proceeding of his majesty absolutely just. Lastly, by this writing I obliged myself to do nothing without Henry's advice; with whom, from that moment, I began a regular intercourse of letters, most of them very long, and several in cyphers. This memorial is dated July 4, signed by his majesty, and countersigned by Villeroi. Two days afterwards I set out on my journey.

QUEEN Margaret's residence at the castle of Usson, gave her frequent opportunities of hearing news of the rebels; and as soon as she was informed that I was upon the road to Poitou, she thought herself obliged to acquaint me with all the particulars which had come to her knowledge: she had likewise some affairs of her own to impart to me, which I shall take notice of after I have related those which concerned my journey. For this purpose she came from Usson to Toury, from whence she wrote to his majesty, telling him the motive which had induced her to take this step, and the earnest desire she had to confer with me. I had left Paris, taking my route through Rosny and Lavinville, two hours before the messenger who brought this letter for his majesty, and another for me, arrived. The king seeing by his own letter, and by mine, what this princess desired of him, sent La-Varenne after me on the 9th of July, to deliver me a letter from him, in which he told me, that he should be glad if I would visit queen Margaret, although I should be obliged to leave the road to Châtelleraut, and go back as far as Orleans. La-Varenne gave me the letter queen Margaret had wrote, dated from Toury, July 7, by which I learned that this princess waited for me between Paris and Orleans; and that I might not fail

fail to meet her, she sent Rodelle her master of the horse, to desire I would come as far as Orleans, if I did not meet her before on the road : but she spared me the trouble of going so far ; for, upon my arrival at Cercote, I was informed that she was there likewise. My wife having accompanied me to Rosny and Lavinville, I brought her to Cercote with me, that she might take advantage of this opportunity to pay her respects to this princess.

It was still so early in the morning when I arrived at Cercote, that queen Margaret was not up ; however, she ordered me to be admitted into her chamber, where I had the honour to confer with her a full hour before she arose. We resumed our conversation after she was dressed, and spent the whole day in the same manner. I shall not repeat the polite and obliging things this princess said to me : but what I had been told in general by Murat, concerning the civil factions, was minutely particularised to me by her and Rodelle. They named a great number of persons of the first quality in Provence and Languedoc, and even some of the relations of the duke de Montpensier and cardinal Joyeuse, who were engaged in the conspiracy : some of these persons had been in the secret of marechal Biron's designs, and had afterwards joined themselves to those whom they found determined to pursue them. The revenge of this marechal was not one of their least motives ; and they made use of the same methods he had done to excite a rebellion among the people. Besides those towns which, as we have seen, the conspirators endeavoured to surprise, they had views likewise upon Beziers, Narbonne, and Leucate. All these informations queen Margaret and Rodelle offered to support with evidences so clear, as would not, they said, leave me the least room to doubt of their certainty. I gave his majesty an exact account of what I had heard, in a letter I wrote to him from Cercote, dated July 14. I likewise sent him a list of the conspirators names, as I

had received it from queen Margaret and Rodelle, but I still persisted in my former opinion; nor, in all they had said to me, did I find occasion to alter it.

It is certain, however, that these informations were too circumstantial and well supported not to merit some belief; for Rodelle had been himself of the cabal, and had left it, only through a reflection upon the rashness of all their measures. He told me, that La-Chapelle-Biron, and above thirty gentlemen more of his acquaintance, had taken the same resolution to leave the cabal, and inform his majesty of all they knew, provided they could be sure of obtaining the pardon they would implore of him: that they had applied to him to take this step in their favour; and this he proved by the letters they had written to him for that purpose. He added, that they had violent suspicions that my journey to Poitou concealed a secret design of seizing them: that they had prevailed upon queen Margaret to declare their intentions to me, and the earnest desire they had to efface the remembrance of their error, by their future fidelity and services to his majesty. All this was sufficiently clear, and I had no doubt of it remaining: but they endeavoured in vain to persuade me that the whole kingdom was in a flame, while I saw only an inconsiderable number of rash zealots, whom it was easy for his majesty to crush, whenever he would condescend to treat as a serious matter, a design which deserved only derision and contempt. For what remained, as often as I attempted to examine strictly into these informations, in appearance of such weight, and supported with such proofs, I always found that the false greatly exceeded the true.

In this, however, Henry was of an opinion contrary to mine: he thought the slightest disturbance within his kingdom merited all his attention, "because, said he, the French were ever fond of novelties, and eagerly admit every change." He often complained, in his answers to my letters, that some of his
other

other ministers had as slight a notion of the present evil as myself: he was more confirmed in his apprehensions, when a memorial from Vivant fell into his hands, which exactly agreed with all that had been told me by queen Margaret and Rodelle. He dispatched orders immediately to Vivant, to send him the person from whom he received those informations; and to me, to make, in concert with Vivant, as soon as I arrived at Châtelleraut, the strictest inquiries into every thing that concerned this cabal. Vivant being one of the protestant deputies to the assembly, this quality might possibly render me suspected by him: the king, however, had taken care to obviate this difficulty, by writing to him that he might place an entire confidence in me. The letter passed through my hands, with a precaution that Vivant should not be named in the affair, lest, by losing his credit with the protestants, he should not have it in his power to serve his majesty effectually with them. As to Rodelle, and the other gentlemen before mentioned, Henry approved of the resolution I had taken with queen Margaret to send them to him: he heard what they had to say, gave them his orders, and sent them back to perform the promises they made him, to labour there for his service. This prince never regretted any expence which these emissaries and informers put him to.

SOME of them had intercepted the copy of a letter written to the duke of Bouillon, by one of his confidants, whom they suspected to be Saint-Germain-de-Clan, and brought it to the king: this perhaps was the cause of his increased vigilance. I shall give an account of this letter here, that the reader may be able to judge whether the inferences that were drawn from it at Monceaux were altogether just. It made part of the packet which Henry sent me from this place. Saint-Germain, or whoever this correspondent of Bouillon's was, by this letter endeavoured principally to

persuade him, that it was necessary he should send some person in his name to the assembly at Châtelleraut, who might support his interests there; or write at least a letter, which his friends might produce. The very considerable part the duke acted among the protestants, the necessity of proving his innocence, and the advantage to be acquired from shewing how much he suffered for the common cause, the general interest of the whole party, his own credit to be maintained with foreigners, the solemnity of this assembly, and the example of that of Gap, were so many motives which in the beginning of this letter were urged with the utmost earnestness to move him.

THE rest was a confused mass of conjectures, inferences, and precautions, on the subject of this assembly; all intended to prove, that the protestant church had nothing to hope or expect but from his efforts alone. The author of this letter supposes, that Henry had totally forgot all his former promises; and that he openly sacrificed the protestants to their most cruel enemies; as proofs of which, he alledged the connection between the king's council and that of Rome, the immense sums which he said were expended to make a pope, the rejoicings for his election, and the favour the Jesuits enjoyed, sufficiently shewn by the demolition of the pyramid. He afterwards considered what, in the present circumstances, might be the result of the assembly; and presaged nothing but misfortunes, as well on account of the timidity of the party, as the artifices the king would make use of to obtain his ends.

HERE I began to appear upon the scene, and it may be easily guessed what sort of figure I made. According to the author of this letter, I had proposals to make, which could not fail of removing all difficulties; among others, that of prolonging the time for the possession of the cautionary towns. Saint-Germain hoped contrary to his first hopes, or rather, to reassure Bouillon, de-
pended

pended upon my artifices with respect to the choice of the deputies all failing, and reasoning his own way upon the struggles he supposed I should have in my mind between my conscience, which could not yield to adopt the policy of the council, and my ambition, which would not suffer me to make the pope and the papists my enemies, he sometimes saw no probability that I would take upon myself a commission which I could not execute to the king's satisfaction, without betraying my religion; nor serve my religion, without exposing myself to unavoidable disgrace. He likewise saw nothing but obstacles and difficulties in such a commission, which I should never be able to surmount. As he did not know that his majesty, besides leaving the general places of security to the protestants, would consent also that the individuals of that body should keep those they were at present in possession of; and believing that this circumstance alone was sufficient to alienate their affections, he triumphed in my perplexity and confusion: he alledged, that the king had said, the person whom he should send in his name to the assembly, would have nothing to do but to declare his will there. Upon these words, he affirmed boldly, that rather than go to any place in my government where the people would not pay me the honours I thought due to me, nor even allow me to be present at their consultations, I would find reasons to get myself dispensed with from taking that journey; or at the worst, if I should go, Saint-Germain engaged to the duke of Bouillon, that all my authority should not hinder the assembly from giving his letter a respectful reading, or his deputy an honourable reception.

THE misfortune was, that the weakness of this duke's partizans was a point so generally known, that, notwithstanding all this shew of confidence, and ostentation of power, his friend was obliged to
confess,

confess, that the coldness of the provinces, and the neglect of the party, with respect to him, was very great. And having thus spared the duke's confusion by these softened expressions, he approved of the caution which Bouillon had been the first to advise should be used when he was mentioned, which was, not to make any demand for him in his name, which was the least liable to opposition; but confine themselves to remonstrances from the protestant body in general, upon the depriving him of his places, refusing him justice, his banishment, and the persecution he was exposed to on account of his zeal for his religion. He considered what danger might be apprehended from a letter written in this form to the assembly, and finding none, although they should even pay no regard to it, and, supposing the worst, sacrifice it to the king; he exhorted the duke of Bouillon to write such a one, giving it as his opinion, that it should not be made public at first; but, being read on a sudden to the assembly, derive some advantage from those first emotions of compassion which it was likely to excite. He added, that the party would look upon it as a stroke of great consequence for the duke, if the letter, instead of being presented to the assembly by one single person, should be brought thither by the deputies from the upper and lower Guienne, where his fortresses were situated; or that they should appear to have undertaken the commission of themselves, or, what was still better, by the orders of their provincials.

THIS was the letter which made so much noise at court. To the packet his majesty sent me, Sillery though proper to add a letter from himself upon this subject alone. Sillery was the person whom Henry kept near him, and who was then employed, as well in reconciling the prince of Conti and the count of Soissons, at that time at variance with each other, as in the affair of Orange, which, according to the advices his majesty received from Lefdiguieres and others,

others, was taking an unfavourable turn. When I read the copy of this letter to the duke of Bouillon, I was convinced that the court would take a false alarm at it. I saw nothing in the contents which did not confirm me in my opinion that the seditious party was very inconsiderable, careless, unsteady, destitute of all resources, and far from any intention to undertake any enterprise of importance; and that Bouillon, who had more experience than the rest, would not engage in such extravagant schemes as were proposed to him one after the other, schemes without order or connexion, and leading to no fixed end, since there was nothing but confusion to be expected from them. In a word, amidst that false courage which is inspired by great presumption, and notwithstanding that affectation of fine policy, I thought I could plainly perceive disunion among the members of this body, and despair in its leader. I therefore persisted in my former opinion, and declared my sentiments freely in the answer I sent to Monceaux; although probably, by doing so, I rendered my sincerity a little doubtful; but I comforted myself by the reflection that those suspicions would last at most, but till the discovery of this mystery, which would be effected by the assembly at Châtelleraut.

As for the other assertions in this letter, I can assure the reader, that I never felt those struggles and perturbations of mind, which the writer of it, and many other persons, attributed to me upon the choice I was to make, between serving my prince, and my religion; since in reality, in this affair, I saw no foundation for making such an alternative. A common prejudice prevails among all sects of religion; a man is never supposed to be a sincere professor of the one he has embraced, unless he supports it obstinately, even in such points where it is most visibly wrong. Upon this footing, I confess, the method I was determined to pursue might, by the author of that letter,
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and those who judged like him, draw upon me the epithets of false brother, deserter, and if they please, traitor: however, it was not the approbation of such as those that I proposed to obtain, but of persons who, of whatever party or religion they were, would, in their judgment of my conduct, preserve the balance of equity and disinterestedness. If ever religion admits of the assistance of policy, it ought to be of a policy pure, simple, and upright as itself; any other may indeed appear to serve it, but does not in reality, and sooner or later never fails to ruin it.

HAVING determined to be guided by no other principle in my transactions with the assembly, I thought I could not too carefully avoid all appearances of affectation or disguise in my conduct; that those who were influenced by an imprudent zeal, or actuated by a spirit of cabal, might have no hopes of gaining or seducing me; therefore, from the beginning, I shewed myself solicitous to support, on this occasion, that character by which all France was to know how I would act on every other; that is, of a man as sincerely attached to the true principles of the protestant religion, as incapable of drawing the false consequences which many of the protestants did, or of approving their irregular proceedings. The speech I made at the opening of the assembly, which lasted half an hour, was wholly calculated to produce this effect, without troubling myself to consider whether it would give pleasure or offence to the greatest number.

I BEGAN by representing to them, that, among so many persons blindly devoted to the will of the prince, his majesty would not have fixed upon a person to treat with them whose unshaken constancy to his religion was so well known, if he was more solicitous to support or increase his rights, than to persuade their judgments and gain their hearts: that this reason was sufficient to make them place an absolute

solute confidence in all that I should say or do, since I certainly had not waited for this moment basely to betray my religion. But I declared to them, at the same time, that they must expect to see me as zealous for the interest of my prince, when it did not injure what I owed to my religion and the general good, since it was incumbent upon me to justify, to his majesty himself, the choice he had made of me; and to support, in the view of the whole kingdom, the reputation of a prudent and upright minister; which I flattered myself I now enjoyed. I invited them to share this honour with me, observing, that here honour and good policy were the same. This point indeed I found most difficult to persuade them of; and when they heard me assert, that their cautionary cities had no fence but their own good inclinations, they, instead of taking my words literally, looked upon them as a paradox, or a figure in oratory.

NOTHING, however, was more certain: and to shew the protestants, that the first foundation of their policy was false, I entered upon the discussion of this principal point; that is, the keeping of their towns, in which they fancied their greatest strength consisted, and concerning which, as I was informed, they were incited to make very earnest and very bold representations to his majesty. I shewed them, that the great number of little paltry places which they held under this title, was so far from being advantageous to them, that they would hasten their ruin, if ever they had an attempt made upon them by a king of France, the present king especially, to whom many of their officers were attached; because that not having any fortress so mean, or governor so inconsiderable, who would not pretend to the honour of making some resistance, it must necessarily happen, that their tolerable cities, which were about ten or twelve in number, must suffer greatly from this useless dispersion of their soldiers and ammunition,

tion, and from time to time fall into the hands of their enemies; I did not even except Lesdiguières *, their Achilles, provided that he waited for this extremity, to separate himself from them: in reality, without judging too rashly of this officer, it might be confidently asserted, that the only religion capable of fixing him, was that which could secure him in the possession of his riches, and the authority he had always exercised throughout his province. Some other proofs of his being but slightly attached to the doctrine of the protestant church, might be produced. I am obliged to discover in this manner the real principles of Lesdiguières, because it was one part of my commission, to shew that the most secret dispositions of the party were not unknown.

THE conduct of Du-Plessis was very different, but still more to be pitied: this man, in whom an ardent zeal for his party held the place of experience and military virtue, had taken it into his head to fortify his castle of Saumur, and did it in such a manner, that to defend it would require a garrison of eight thousand men, with ammunition in proportion. I desired to know where Du-Plessis would procure all this, should he be attacked unexpectedly; and added, that what I said to them was not by way of information, since I was not ignorant that they were condemned to know this truth, by the result of

* The Calvinist writers have treated the constable de Lesdiguières in the same manner we see them treat all those who abjure their religion. Le Vassor is the most cruel, and the duke of Sully one of the most moderate of his enemies; he is not the only one who believed that his desire to be made constable, was a small inducement to his conversion. "After the death of the constable, de Luynes, says Amelot de La-Houffaye, Lewis XIII. sent the sieur Claude de Bullon to the marechal de Lesdiguières, to acquaint him, that if he did not actually become a catholic, he must not expect to be constable, though that office had been promised him. Bullon, who had long been a staunch Huguenot, going to the marechal, asked him aloud, Sir, do you believe the transubstantiation? I do, answer the marechal, who had guessed at the meaning of the question. Since you assure me of that, says Bullon, I inform you that you will be made constable." Art, Bonne, &c.

of the deliberations in their provinces, as well as by their own losses; but only to shew them, that the king's council reasoned justly upon their situation: and that if, notwithstanding this knowledge, they were left in peace, that consideration ought to increase their gratitude and affection for the prince their benefactor.

I THEN proceeded to acquaint the deputies with his majesty's intentions, in a manner that would admit of no doubt or equivocation: that they were for the future not to receive in their synods, or even in their houses, any deputies or letters from foreign princes, cities, communities, or French lords; namely, messieurs de Rohan, de Bouillon, de Lesdiguières, de La-Force, de Châtillon, and Du-Plessis, because the king would not suffer any affairs of importance to be treated of in his kingdom, without his participation: that upon no pretence or reason whatever, they were ever more permitted to hold an assembly like those they had formerly held; but if they had any request to make to his majesty, they were to apply to the deputies, who were allowed to stay at court for this purpose, and that it should be expressed in the cahier of their province. I declared to them, that if they pretended, in this assembly, to take resolutions contrary to these orders, besides the other inconveniencies to which they would expose themselves, they must expect to see me make use of all the power annexed to my commission, and all the authority granted to a governor in his province, to bring them back to their duty. This was the substance of my speech to the assembly; leaving it to them to settle at leisure the affairs of the deputies, and the cautionary towns.

This speech, and particularly the declaration with which I concluded it, gave great offence to many deputies of the assembly; it occasioned several warm disputes in their private consultations, and four or five deputations to me: those whose interest it was that the

the assembly should not proceed to more essential affairs, desired no better than to waste the time in this kind of preliminary questions, and protracted them on purpose. But with a little industry, and some address, I put an end to this useless prelude. The king highly resented their not chusing me president of the assembly; though afterwards, altering his opinion on that head, he had advised me not to accept of it: he thought that, upon several considerations, I merited this honour from them; and said publicly with great resentment, that on this occasion the protestants had given an equal proof of their disregard to the public good, as jealousy of me; but it is certain, that I was the first, and even the only one, who made any objection to it*, and this for reasons which I wrote his majesty word I would tell him myself, and with which he would be satisfied.

* The author of Du-Plessis-Mornay's life, on the contrary, maintains, that the duke of Sully endeavoured, by all the means he could, to get himself chosen president, but that he had only two votes for him. Book ii. p. 309.



B O O K XXII.

TH E general assembly of the protestants at Châtelleraut was already opened, when the king received a letter from the duke of Bouillon, which was brought by a man named Ruffy. In this letter Bouillon acquainted his majesty, that a league was actually forming among the German princes against the house of Austria; and that these princes, being desirous of strengthening themselves with the power and assistance of his majesty, had fixed upon him to be a mediator between the king and them. On their part, he promised a full security to the king
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and kingdom; and on his own, he offered, with an effusion of the noblest sentiments, to assist this design with his person and forces, expressing great joy at his having found an opportunity so often hinted at by Montluet, when in writing to him by the king's orders, he told him, that it was by real and effectual services, and not by words only, that for the future he could persuade this prince of the purity of his intentions.

HENRY, at the receipt of this letter, was neither much moved in favour of the duke of Bouillon, nor greatly pleased with the pretended scheme: far from accepting an offer in appearance so favourable to his designs, he was apprehensive of raising an unsurmountable obstacle to the execution of them by too great precipitation; besides, the snare which Bouillon laid for him, was too thinly disguised to produce the effect it was designed for. Nothing could be more improbable, than that the German princes should chuse Bouillon to act the part of a mediator and reconciler, he who was himself considered by the council of France as a criminal. Henry therefore contented himself with telling Ruffy, in answer to this letter, that the duke's informations were too indeterminate, and came too late. Bouillon would certainly have expected very little success from this artifice, if he had known that a letter, which he had written to the protestants assembled at Châtelleraut, fell at the same time into his majesty's hands. This letter was a kind of answer to that which, as we have observed, had been lately sent to Bouillon by Saint-Germain-de-Clan, and it was well known was designed for him; though, in one part of it, he mentions Saint-Germain as a third person. By the contents, it was plain, that the letter he wrote his majesty from Germany, was done with no other view but to induce the king to treat him more favourably in the assembly, and to hinder him from suspecting the true motives of his conduct.

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THE duke of Bouillon, in his letter to Saint-Germain, did not lose sight of his quality of chief of the party, since it was written with an intention to regulate the proceedings of the assembly. The nomination of the deputies was the article first and principally considered in it: he gave his opinion of each of those persons who might pretend to this office, such as La-Nouë, Du-Plessis, Bellujon, and Saint-Germain himself, in whose favour he gave his vote for continuing him in his employment, from which he was now discharged, and interested himself so much in it as to exhort the protestants to unite their endeavours to make the election fall upon him: he bestowed great praises upon La-Nouë, but recommended it to them to give the preference to Saint-Germain, the office which they first exercised at Geneva so usefully for the party, affording a plausible pretence for excluding him from the deputation, without which it was probable he might be offended. He spoke of Du-Plessis, as of a man too obstinately attached to his own opinions, and able likewise to make himself be listened to and respected by Lefdiguieres; which to the duke seemed so important a point, that he considered the want of that power in Bellujon almost as a crime. Bellujon, he allowed, had understanding, prudence, and address, and, next to Saint-Germain, had the best claim to the deputation. The perfect agreement between those two might indeed produce miracles; but Bellujon's attachment to Lefdiguieres was, in the opinion of Bouillon, a stain in his character which could not be effaced: he would have done better to have owned freely, that he was jealous of the reputation Lefdiguieres had acquired in the party. Another fault which Bouillon attributed, equally and without exception, to all the candidates for the office of deputy, was that attention they discovered to their own interest, which however he considered as no objection, because of its being so general.

BOUILLON

BOUILLON next proceeded to speak of himself ; and here vanity dictated every word. He informed Saint-Germain, that it was reported in Germany, the king was desirous of being reconciled to him, and that Parabere or Montluet would be soon sent to him for that purpose ; and, to remove all suspicions of the truth of this assertion, he sent him a letter which he said Montluet had written to him, in which he desired him to apply to some persons who might be able to effect a reconciliation between Henry and him. From all this Bouillon drew a thousand consequences, upon the consideration they had for him in Germany, the great advantages which the protestant party received from him, and the fears with which he inspired the king and his council : he was not willing to leave his brethren in doubt, that he would not hear all the propositions his majesty made to him, through an apprehension that they were only snares which were laid for him, to deprive him of the authority he had acquired among the people. He lightly passed over the article of sending some person in his name to the assembly, and spoke of it as a thing subject to difficulties ; and upon which it was necessary to consult Lefdiguieres, Du-Plessis, and Saint-Germain.

BUT he dwelt with a peculiar satisfaction upon the solemn assemblies which were held at his house, composed of all the most distinguished persons in Germany, asserting that the protestant religion must necessarily receive the highest benefit from them. By the resentment he here discovered against Lefdiguieres, it was judged that the latter had declared his sentiments of these so much boasted assemblies a little too freely ; but the duke of Bouillon, to give a just idea of their extreme utility, assured his party, that the sole apprehension of what might be resolved upon there was sufficient to disturb Henry's repose, and make him use every method to gain him. He added, that he had been often

often reproached by the persons who composed these assemblies, with not having made the court of France sufficiently sensible of the advantages he possessed, and had received offers from them to take this trouble upon themselves ; but that he had opposed this effect of their zeal, by representing to them (with wonderful modesty) that the jealousy which Henry entertained of him being the true cause of the difference between them, their intercession would have no other consequence but to augment that jealousy, and prejudice themselves, without serving him. The only method by which Henry could be brought to reason (which he insinuated was the opinion of this whole assembly of friends, as well as his own) was to reduce him, through fear of what he might undertake, to a necessity of granting them all they desired.

ALL the notice this very singular letter deserved (if it be granted that it deserved any) was to make use of it to prevent some demands which it was probable might be made in the assembly ; for, as to the rest, whom could Bouillon expect to impose upon by his arrogant boasts ? There is no necessity for seeking any other proof than what these ridiculous rodomantados afford, that the seditious party had made no preparations, either within or without the kingdom, for a revolt ; that they did not yet understand each other's schemes, or had come to any explanation concerning their common and general interest. With regard to this new pretended league in favour of the protestants, there was good reason for thinking of it as Lefdiguieres did : in one word, that it was the mere invention of Bouillon. Caumartin never mentioned it in his letters to the king, although he had a conference with the landgrave of Hesse concerning every thing that related to the duke of Bouillon ; and all the landgrave desired to know of him was, if the king had really employed Montluet in the expresses his majesty had sent to Sedan. The reason which induced the landgrave
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of Hesse to ask this question, was a report which had been spread in Germany, that his most christian majesty was endeavouring to get possession of Sedan by surprise, and to abolish the reformed religion there. It was plain that this report was raised by Bouillon himself, who, taking occasion from that to gratify his hatred of the king, insinuated at the same time, that his city was so strong, Henry could have no hopes of taking it but by a stratagem: this was, indeed, to possess the art of uniting together presumption, malice, and falsehood. All the duke of Bouillon's talents might be reduced to a great fertility of invention, and consummate dexterity in spreading reports disadvantageous to his enemies. Of the same kind was that which prevailed concerning the resolution taken by the Swisses assembled at Baden, contrary to the interests of France, and proceeded from the same person: it occasioned, for a short time, some apprehensions in the kingdom, as the business mentioned in the former year, in which the leagues of the Grisons were employed, still remained unfinished; but when it was found that Caumartin, who would not have failed to have informed the king of it immediately if it had been true, was wholly silent concerning it, there was sufficient room to believe, that it was only an invention of those whose interest it was, that affairs should not go well in those cantons.

I COULD have wished, that his majesty had shewn the same contempt for the informations of those mercenary spies, whose numbers began to increase to such a degree, that they became chargeable to the government; and I freely own, that I regretted those large sums which were disbursed, to pay this kind of service, which on account of the interest those from whom it was received were governed by, either with regard to themselves, to augment the garrisons of a city, or to procure a considerable gratuity, was greatly suspected by

by me. A certain man gave information of an assembly which was to be held at Puy-laurens in the Upper Languedoc; he gave in a memorial of what passed there, and likewise assured us, that he himself had been present. Another officer or soldier of Quercy prevailed upon Vivant to send him to the king, because he said he had been solicited by a friend of his at Sarlat to seize Domme*; and declared the names of those who had spoken to them both upon this subject: this determined Henry to send Themmes thither to seize the persons accused. All these informations were afterwards found to be either false, or excessively exaggerated. It was not my opinion that all precaution should be neglected; on the contrary, I was the first to advise the king to send some trusty persons to reside in Perigord and Quercy. The king, to whom I was not accustomed to speak in this manner, conceived great apprehensions from it, and I was obliged to assure him that I had received no bad news from either of these provinces.

BUT the method I would have preferred to all these little enquiries, as being both the shortest and most secure, was to give, from time to time, and as occasions offered, examples of severe punishment, such as the arrest against the two Luquisses, Provincial gentlemen. It was resolved at the arsenal, that, before I went away, an attempt should be made to seize them: for which purpose, the king made use of Ranchin, physician to the constable, who amused these mutineers so artfully, that the chevalier Montmorency seized nine or ten of the faction altogether, with their two leaders, and confined them in the prison of Aiguesmortes: they were so indiscreet, that, amidst the confusion caused by their first surprise, they confessed themselves guilty of carrying on criminal correspondences with Spain. Henry, fully resolved to punish them, sent the chevalier de Montmorency and Ranchin, at their return from
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* In Perigord.

this expedition, to Chantilly, to tell the constable that he must come the next day and prepare matters for their trials. It was this plot which made his majesty renew his design of taking a journey this year towards Provence. The report of an armament of galleys being fitted out by the Spaniards at Naples, was a second inducement. However, I saw no greater reason for taking umbrage at this armament now than before, the Spaniards making almost the same preparations every year, on account of their trade to the Levant.

THE king was likewise informed, that some of the leading men in the assembly, sought only to prolong the time in useless debates, to the end that I might quit it through weariness, or that affairs of another kind might suffer by my absence : and to effect this, had resolved to make use of several pretences, such as sending the deputies directly to the king to propose their demands, or to bear their general thanks, as if the assembly was looked upon as useless. Henry ordered Parabere, who was going to his government, to confer with me concerning this report, relying wholly upon my diligence to dispatch the business of the assembly with speed, but at the same time completely. For which purpose, I resolved to take measures, so much the more likely to succeed, as they flattered the vanity of the deputies. His majesty also commanded Parabere to assist me in my endeavours to discover the authors of these intrigues, but he would not venture to trust him with the secrets of most consequence ; and even when he sent him to me to act in concert upon a certain memorial, he thought it necessary to send me this memorial by another hand, that I might have time to examine it, and take such measures as I thought proper, before the arrival of Parabere. Henry did not act in this manner through an apprehension of his failing in his duty, but Parabere had one fault, which is only so with respect to politics, he could

could never believe ill of any one ; and another, which is generally joined to the former, a readiness to contract friendships with all sorts of men, whether ill or well affected to the government : he was never moved with any thing that was said concerning the French faction ; and as often as the king mentioned the duke of Bouillon in his presence, he never failed to justify his innocence, and attributed all the crimes that were alledged against him to the malice of his enemies. It was this prepossession that made his majesty, though he discovered all his displeasure against the duke to Parabere, assign his former practices against him as the cause, without giving any hint to him of the more recent proofs he had of his disobedience ; it was my part also, to regulate my conduct with Parabere upon this knowledge.

BUT setting aside all that was reported to the king, let us see what really passed in the assembly. The first meetings were as tumultuous and disorderly as I had expected they would be : the disaffected party assiduously applied themselves to imbitter the minds of others, and prepare them for sedition, because they thought it would be more difficult to inflame them afterwards, if they suffered the assembly to take a peaceable turn. They therefore had recourse to their accustomed arts, and industriously confirmed the false reports they had raised, that the king was going to abolish their privileges, cancel their synods, to take advantage of the present assembly, to declare all the pensions he was accustomed to give to the ministers of the protestant religion struck off from the accounts of his revenues. Henry, when he complained of the aversion of the protestants for him, and for those whom he employed in affairs of state, used sometimes to say, that they deserved to be deprived of their pensions, offices, and governments. These words were reported to the assembly, as proceeding from a fixed resolution, and were construed into a positive declaration.

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As I was not ignorant from what source those envenomed allegations proceeded, after having represented the falsehood of them, I resolutely opposed their making any demands in this assembly, in the name, or on the part of Bouillon, Lesdiguières, and Du-Plessis; nor would I suffer any person to speak there, but those that had a claim to that privilege, by their quality of deputies from the provinces. I caused it to be privately intimated to Du-Plessis, that I left it to his choice, either to stay voluntarily from the assembly at Châtelleraut, or to come there as a mere spectator, and as a private man. This mortified him extremely; but he took the first part, either that, despairing of success, he was willing to avoid the blame of any resolutions taken in his absence, although contrary to all his schemes, or that he promised himself some resource, or perhaps vengeance, by procuring an insurrection in the assembly in his favour. In effect, he so fixed the deputies from Dauphiny in his interest, that they cried out, nothing could be done without him. But I took my measures so well, that I made the presence of Du-Plessis as unnecessary as that of Bouillon. From him I expected no less than such an instance of resentment; but that Lesdiguières should debase himself so far, as to act, by his emissaries, the part of a clamourer, in favour of a man so justly in disgrace with his majesty; he who lately had received a distinguishing favour for Créquy his son-in-law; this was an instance of meanness and ingratitude that I could with difficulty pardon in him. On all these occasions I saw the utility of having taken proper steps, long before the meeting of the assembly, to secure to myself the best part of the votes.

IN proportion as I saw my party increase in strength, I exerted my authority; I cut short all trifling and subtil questions; I insisted upon their proceeding to business, and, above all things, to look upon every thing which related to the royal authority as sacred: the
violation

violation of that was what Henry most apprehended, and indeed his fears were not wholly groundless. It will be an eternal stain upon the reputations of Bouillon, Du-Plessis, D'Aubigné, Constant, Saint-Germain, and some others, more especially Lesdiguières, that they set their hands to a paper, the certainty of which has been but too well proved, wherein they lay the foundation of a Calvinist republic, free and absolutely independent of the sovereign, in the heart of France. These terms, indeed, are not used in the writing, they seem to have industriously avoided them; but terms are of no consequence where the thing is plainly meant: and I ask those very persons, what was to be understood by the establishment of a body, the leaders of which were as closely connected with each other, as separated from every one else, and from the provincial councils, to which the supreme general council gives laws? What was meant by the assistance they there endeavoured to produce from foreign powers, the obligation they imposed upon all governors and men in public offices, to take certain oaths which were prescribed to them? and, lastly, by their excluding the Roman catholics, and officers particularly attached to the king, from any post, dignity, or employment in the new party? Du-Plessis, who had apparently some reason to be apprehensive of my declaring to his majesty the part he had in this writing, thought it necessary, when the result of the assembly rendered the scheme ineffectual, not to incur the danger of being silent upon it; therefore, when he sent an apology to the king for not being present at the assembly, he added a formal disavowal of every thing contained in that paper.

THIS scheme was among the number of those whose execution it is necessary to hinder with as much caution as possible; I was willing therefore, to know whether a great part of the protestant body
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were made acquainted with it, and continued to adhere to it: I mentioned it to the deputies, but in general terms, under the title of an association, and complained of reserve and distrust, which, however, I made them sensible was not wholly free from blame. Their answer was, that if Henry could live for ever, the protestants, satisfied with his word, would, from that moment renounce all precaution, resign their cautionary towns, refuse all offers of assistance from foreigners, and consider all particular regulations for the preservation of their community as useless; but that their fears of finding very different sentiments in his successors, obliged them to take measures for their own security. This bold confession gave me more pleasure than an artful answer would have done; for if the assembly had been concerned in the project, they would not have confined themselves to answer only the literal meaning of my words, but, struck with the secret reproach contained in them, would have endeavoured to justify themselves by repeated protestations, and an absolute denial.

I WAS convinced therefore, that hitherto the contagion of seditious discourse and wicked examples had spread no farther than those six or seven persons whom I have named: but it was not so easy to make Henry believe it, or to remove his apprehensions that the evil would soon become general; he suffered himself to be greatly affected with that blind facility with which the populace received every impression, given them by those whom they looked upon as their leaders and defenders, and the fatal consequence which might ensue from it, if, unfortunately for France, he should die while the dauphin was yet a child: he sometimes told me, that, on this occasion, my particular interest was strongly connected with that of the public, as being one of the chief officers of the crown, and appointed lieutenant to the company of his second son, if God should

should give him one, as it soon after happened. But all things considered, what could Bouillon wandering and despised, Du-Plessis with his pen, Constant and D'Aubigné with their tongues, be capable of doing against an authority so solidly fixed, as that which Henry was at present in a condition to leave to his son? The uncertainty of the royal succession had always been, in my opinion, almost the only danger he had to fear.

I MENTIONED this affair to the deputies of the assembly as opportunities offered, without postponing the principal one which I had brought first upon the carpet, which was, the nomination of the particular deputies. The protestants claimed a right to nominate these deputies themselves, alledging that his majesty was not concerned in it: but I convinced them of their mistake, by representing to them, that his majesty, as king, ought to have the principal part in an affair which had so necessary an influence upon order and tranquillity, and was so closely connected with the civil government, that upon the character of the deputies who were chosen, depended in great measure, the good or bad intelligence between the two religions; and this I supported by an example drawn from the thing itself, which was, the artful and disingenuous conduct of some of those who had formerly exercised this employment.

To decide this combat of different opinions, I proposed that the assembly should determine upon a certain number of persons proper for this office, among whom the king should chuse two he best approved of; and, notwithstanding the repugnance I perceived they had still to this expedient, I did not despair of having it complied with, as I had very considerable gratuities to dispose of to those who acted conformable to his majesty's intentions. But here Henry himself raised an obstacle, without attending to it: he had judged, by the unanimous opposition the assembly made to this point, that I
should

should never be able to carry it, therefore he wrote to me to consent that the two deputies should be proposed, and chosen in concert by him and the protestants, a concession which only increased the obstinacy of the assembly: for whether his majesty declared publicly the contents of his letters, or that those to whom he confided them did not keep his secret, all the intentions of this prince were as soon and as perfectly known in the assembly, as in the council itself. Villeroi sent me notice of it, but I knew it before; for this cause I insisted that Sillery and he should always write to me with their own hands; a precaution which I observed myself, and was sometimes so much fatigued by it, that I was obliged to refer them both to the letters I wrote to his majesty, which they took care afterwards to burn. However, I carried my point in the assembly; six persons were to be proposed to his majesty, from among whom he was to chuse the two deputies: and I likewise managed it so as that in these six there should not be one who had given any public marks of disobedience or mutiny. Henry looked upon this success as one of the most important services he could have received from me.

SOME of the deputies requested, that a third deputy should be created, and this deputy to be always one of the protestant ministers. It was said that Berault used his utmost endeavours to obtain this office, and intended to come to the assembly for that purpose, though he was not one of the provincial deputies: he had also, it was confidently asserted, many schemes to accomplish, especially in favour of the duke of Bouillon: and he was the person who prevailed upon the assembly at Mauvesin †, to write to the duke, to assure him that the protestant party in France had still, in all their proceedings, an eye to his person and interest. However, Berault, bold as he was, durst not shew himself upon this occasion,

sion, and the proposal was absolutely rejected; as was likewise another, which three or four persons ventured to offer, that the protestant party should chuse deputies themselves, which were not to reside near the king, but in some parts of the chief provinces in the kingdom, and correspond immediately with the deputies-general at court. If this scheme had taken place, there would have been a necessity for redoubling our attention to the conduct of these subordinate deputies.

HIS majesty never made any objection to the quality of the deputies, provided they had the reputation of being men of probity and lovers of peace; and upon this, he carefully avoided every thing that had the appearance of constraint, as was evident when it was debated whether governors of fortresses might be appointed deputies; the king yielded to the arguments urged by the assembly for the negative: and also on the subject of La-Nouë and Du-Coudrai, whom the protestants would not have placed in the list, alledging the absence of the first, and the employment of the second; however, they all afterwards agreed upon La-Nouë. As for me, I gave my vote for excluding Saint-Germain, notwithstanding the extreme desire they shewed to have him continued with Bellujon as his coadjutor. The king neither approved of the latter, nor even of Coudrai; but being willing to shew some respect for Lesdiguieres, he was inclined to chuse the deputy from the province of Dauphine. Des-Bordes and Marabat were also proposed; his majesty had a long time wished to do something for Marabat, although I assured him he was one of Bouillon's creatures; but he altered his intention, when Marabat, by imprudently sending his two children to the duke of Bouillon, left him no room to doubt of the truth of my assertions; and this alone was sufficient to exclude him from the deputation. Of all that were proposed for this office, there was not one who so
much

much merited to have all the votes in his favour, as an advocate of Castres, named La Devése : but the reputation he had justly acquired of virtue and impartiality, was alone sufficient to render him obnoxious to his brethren ; he gained nothing but the honour of having merited the confidence of his king, who wrote him a letter which I delivered to him with the utmost secrecy, lest it should entirely ruin him in the opinions of the protestants. When I became better acquainted with him, I looked upon him as a man, whose knowledge and abilities might be of great use to me. The remainder of July was spent in proposing, chusing, rejecting, or approving the different candidates.

THE choice of the deputies continued to be debated with the same heat, during the first part of the following month. The assembly renewed their solicitations in favour of Saint-Germain and several others, to whom Henry would have even preferred Marabat ; but as a detail of these disputes is not sufficiently interesting to deserve any longer time should be taken up with it, I shall conclude it at once, by saying, that La-Nouë having promised his majesty by Roquelaure and me, that he would break with the duke of Bouillon, and recal his children from Sedan, the king chose him from among the three persons proposed for the nobility, and Du Cros from those for the gown, who had Lesdiguières to solicit for him. This choice, which was very agreeable to Henry, and highly praised by his ministers themselves, was made very seasonably to stop the mouths of some slanderers, who reported that the king, after receiving a letter from me, appeared so greatly enraged, that it was evident his design did not succeed well under my management. One trifling letter served them for a pretence to propagate this story. In my answer to Villeroy, who sent me a copy of it, I told him there were no persons who

gave so little credit to this report as those who spread it.

As to the success of this affair, the glory of which was attributed entirely to me, without affecting a misplaced modesty, I shall freely own that I accomplished my designs, by convincing the greatest part of the protestant body, that they might safely rely upon Henry's intentions and sentiments with respect to them, for the preservation of their persons and interests; and that those few examples of severity, or rather justice, which they complained of, were greatly disproportionate to the injuries he had received from them. I would not have it imagined, that by speaking in this manner, I gave the protestants the least hints of those favourable designs for the party, with which the mind of Henry was then employed: to serve a prince at the expence of his secret was to betray him. I was even particularly cautious upon this article with his majesty's ministers; and I don't know that I ever mentioned it in any of those letters I wrote to Henry himself, except one, in which I made some reflexions upon the embassy to England, that were necessary to the subject I wrote upon: however, I earnestly intreated him to burn this letter, lest the same accident should happen to it as he knew had done to others.

WHAT his majesty had most reason to complain of in the affair of the deputies, was, that his intention of appointing them himself, in the manner we have just seen, being signified to the assembly, seven protestant provinces met together, and sent to consult Du-Plessis upon this resolution, a fault which Henry with good reason attributed to Constant and D'Aubigné. The last instance which was made by the protestants on this subject was, that the duration of the deputies service with his majesty should be regulated by them, and be expressed in the brevet of election by the king, or at least in the act of nomination: had this been granted, there would

would have been a necessity for renewing this ceremony every year, and for calling an assembly for that purpose. These very motives induced the king to refuse it, for which I had already prepared them. At length they received the brevet in the form it was in, but not without returning many times to the charge.

THE affair of the cautionary towns came next under consideration: although the term of eight years, expressed in the brevet of August 1598, given in consequence of the edict of Nantes, wanted yet a year of being expired, yet it was necessary to bring it upon the carpet this year, if we would avoid giving the protestant party a pretence for holding an assembly the next. It is certain, however, that it would not have been proposed at Châtelleraut, on any other terms than to have this matter left entirely to the king, without requiring a promise for three or four years, or a new brevet from his majesty, but that the assembly should be informed in the same way I have just mentioned, not only that they might expect every reasonable indulgence from Henry, but also that I had actually at that time in my possession, a brevet from his majesty for three years, and another for four: and it was upon this account, that the king found himself obliged to grant them a prolongation for four years. It may be alledged, that a year more or less was a very inconsiderable matter; and indeed Henry had no other view in laying a stress upon it, than to accustom them not to obtain whatever they should take it into their heads to demand, and to be contented with those favours he voluntarily granted them: as for what remained, there was nothing more certain than what I had said to them in the beginning of my speech to the assembly with regard to those forts. Henry permitted me to inform the deputies, that it was at my solicitation he granted them this favour.

THE two questions of the greatest importance being decided, the assembly might be looked on as at an end ; but, as there were alterations to be made in the brevets, of which I was the bearer, his majesty would also have an article added, by which he declared, that the first eight years were to commence from the day on which the edict of Nantes was registered in the parliament. Some time therefore was taken up in composing these two brevets, and sending them to Châtelleraut.

DURING this time, the affair of Orange made noise enough to afford a subject for public discourse. In order to restore this place to the prince of Orange, its lawful master, it was necessary to withdraw Blaccons †, who held it for the protestants ; and here the king made use of Lesdiguières, but so unseasonably, that I believe all the difficulties which were found in the management of this affair, owed their rise to this choice : any one but Lesdiguières, whom Blaccons had reason to think his mortal enemy, might have easily effected it. Blaccons, who had long expected orders to leave Orange, wrote to me, that nothing could prevail upon him to neglect obeying his majesty's commands immediately, but the mortification and disgrace of being obliged to yield his post to a man who would make that ceremony an occasion of triumph over him. In my answer to this officer, I thought I was entitled to give him hopes that his majesty would alleviate the bitterness of this order : and I flattered myself, that if I had been at court, the affair would have been terminated otherwise ; but Henry did not write to me concerning it, till he had sent Bullion and Bellujon with his commands to Lesdiguières, which he informed me of in his letter, and desired I would send the necessary orders for carrying cannon to Orange. I suspected what had happened when I received this letter, and instantly acquainted

† Hector de la Forêt de Blaccons.

acquainted the king with what I knew of Blaccon's sentiments. I advised, I even entreated him, to send only an exempt of his guards to Orange upon this occasion, without setting up Lefdiguieres against the man he hated.

My advice came too late; Lefdiguieres, making use of the power the king had given him, listened to nothing but his hatred of Blaccons, and in an imperious manner signified his majesty's orders to the governor and inhabitants, adding of himself, that if he did not obey them, he would give the king notice of it immediately. In the mean time he wrote to his majesty, on the 24th of July, that he need not be under any apprehensions, because he knew how to reduce the governor of Orange without raising any commotions in the province. May it not be said, that Lefdiguieres was afraid he should not find resistance enough? Blaccons, who did not expect such an insult, instantly dispatched two couriers, one after another, to the king, to assure him, that he was ready to resign the place to any person his majesty thought proper, even although he were a catholic. His views, by taking this step were to prevail upon the king to alter his resolution of sending Lefdiguieres, by the advice of those whose interest with his majesty he relied upon, and to suspend Lefdiguieres's march, who he did not doubt would be with him as soon as possible. Blaccons had more enemies at court than friends; they thought this procedure shewed a strong disposition to rebellion, and they inspired Henry with the same opinion, which was certainly not very kind and disinterested on their side.

THE king, however, notwithstanding all the violent counsels that were suggested to him, would not proceed suddenly to extremities with Blaccons: he answered him by sending an exempt of his guards to him, who was a protestant, and three or four archers of the guard, who signified to him, that, till further orders, it was his majesty's

majesty's pleasure he should put the place as a deposit into the hands of the exempt, and come himself to court, where he might depend upon receiving from his majesty the most honourable treatment, and all the satisfaction he could desire. Henry at the same time ordered Bullion to tell Lesdiguières, that if Blaccons submitted to this last order, he was to stay peaceably at Grenoble, and not to have recourse to force, but in case the governor should refuse to obey : for which purpose, he sent him commissions to raise ten companies, consisting of one hundred men each ; to make use likewise of five companies of Du-Bourg's regiment, and to increase them from sixty to two hundred men, and cannon in proportion. All these preparations were made in consequence of the courtiers persuading his majesty, that Blaccons would not submit to his proposal. Lesdiguières, who had already sent the king word, that the cannon of his province of Dauphiny had no carriages, desired some might be sent to him ; or rather, because that would take up too much time, that he should be furnished with cannon from the arsenal of Lyons, which might be easily sent down the Rhone. It was apparent, that he had no inclination to disfurnish his own fortresses. Accordingly the king wrote to me to send orders to the lieutenant-general of the artillery of Lyonnois and Dauphiny, conformable to the demands of Lesdiguières. It must be confessed that the king, in his transactions with the protestants, took such measures as might make it appear to them, that he was wholly guided by justice and moderation. But I could not approve of these extraordinary preparations, nor this needless expence ; therefore, though I paid all the respect I ought to do to the orders his majesty gave me, yet I thought it my duty to oppose the desires of Lesdiguières, especially in what related to the cannon of Lyons, which seemed to be much better in that city than in any one of Dauphiny.

IT appears strange to me, that Henry should be so long without perceiving that Lesdiguières only sought to be authorised in pursuing, with the utmost rigour, a man whom he hated with inveteracy. He did many things of his own authority, as soon as he thought he had some appearance of justice on his side; so that the state of affairs was quite altered before his majesty's couriers arrived. He was already at the head of a body of troops, within two leagues of Orange, from whence he haughtily summoned Blaccons to receive him into the city. Bullion, when he returned from Dauphiny, endeavoured to justify Lesdiguières for taking this precipitate step (to call it no worse) saying, that he did it with an intention to begin immediately to make proper regulations in the castle, to disband part of the garrison, and send away some soldiers levied by the officers of the prince of Orange. It was not indeed surprising, that Lesdiguières should thus exceed his commission. Blaccons no longer viewing him in any other light, than as an enemy who prosecuted his own particular quarrel with him, gave him such an answer as obliged him to retire in some disorder to Montelimart. Lesdiguières, fired with resentment at the disgrace this retreat brought upon him, observed no regard to truth in the letters he wrote to his majesty to inform him of all that had passed, but accused Blaccons of every thing his rage could suggest. Blaccons likewise sent a courier to his majesty, with complaints against Lesdiguières; he accused him with having for a long time sought to make himself master of Orange, by means of a correspondence he carried on with a minister named Maurice. The friends of Lesdiguières retorted this crime upon Blaccons, which they said they could prove by a letter he had written to his brother-in-law, at the very time that he was making protestations of obedience to the king; and that while he sent a polite message to Lesdiguières, assuring him he was ready to receive him into the

city, he was forming resolutions directly contrary. I would not answer for the truth of either of these accusations.

HOWEVER that may be, the assembly of Châtelleraut was dissolved, while this dispute retarded the conclusion of the affair of Orange, the arrival of the two brevets, which his majesty had ordered Fresne to send me, gave great satisfaction to the assembly ; they were dated August the 4th, 1605. It appeared there, that the king granted them to the protestants as a favour which ought to confirm them in the respect and fidelity they owed him. When I delivered them to the assembly, I declared that it was his majesty's pleasure they should break up, after first hearing from me the king's last intentions, that the people might be no longer kept in suspense in the provinces, where I was sensible the different reports concerning the result of the assembly, gave occasion for commotions equal to those when two parties are ready to come to blows. I enjoined the deputies, when they returned to their provinces, to give a sincere and candid representation of the manner in which the king and his ministers had acted and treated with them ; and carefully to avoid that arrogant behaviour, and that propensity to slander, which they had shewn in the assembly of Gap. I made a recapitulation of all the king's orders and demands, and justified each. I prevented their composing, before they separated, a new memorial of demands ; and, in the king's name, expressly forbid them to call any general assembly without permission : I told them, that his majesty would never refuse them that favour when the occasion required it ; but I made them sensible, at the same time, that they must not expect them to be so frequent for the future as they had been. I forgot not to add, that Henry did not thereby intend to prejudice in any manner their right of holding their ordinary conferences and synods, confined merely to affairs of religion ;

religion; and concluded with repeating my prohibition to them, to hold any correspondence with persons suspected by his majesty. I was entirely satisfied with the inclinations I perceived in them; and was not deceived in my conjecture, that the assembly would propose to send a deputation to his majesty, to thank him for the indulgence he had shewn them, and to assure him of their inviolable respect. They were desirous of first knowing, whether this step would be agreeable to his majesty; and the answer they received being such as they had hoped for, the deputies appointed for that purpose set out for Paris to execute their commission.

I LEFT Châtelleraut the same day that the assembly broke up, the king having ordered Sillery to acquaint me that I might do so; and often expressed his wishes for my return, and how necessary my presence was to him in the affairs of his council. This prince would write to me once more, though it was only to praise and thank me for the service which he said I had done him. But however solicitous he appeared for my return, yet he gave me permission to visit my estate of Berry, which I did not then think proper to do, because I would not accumulate more business than I was able to dispatch. Such was the issue of the assembly, which had engrossed the attention of the whole kingdom. When I strictly examined my own sentiments concerning it, I found, that the despair into which my proceedings there had thrown some of my brethren, did not interrupt the joy I felt for my success; because I was convinced, that I had more effectually served my religion and them by moderate and peaceable measures, than they could have done by their blind and impetuous zeal. Du-Plessis might possibly have felt the force of these reasonings in the letter I wrote to him; though my principal view by writing was to shew him his errors. He justified himself in a very studied letter, which he likewise sent to the king, along with mine, to shew that

that he had not left one of the heads of my accusation unanswered and uneffaced.

I WENT immediately to give an account of my conduct to the king. His majesty when he left Monceaux, where he had some slight fits of the gout, had returned to Paris the latter end of July, and from thence went to Saint-Germain to pass the beginning of August; he was there afflicted with a defluxion which fell upon his cheek and teeth, but was cured immediately by having his gums lanced: this indisposition obliged him to drink the waters and observe an exact regimen, which was his most effectual remedy. I found him at Fontainebleau, whither he had come from Saint-Germain; he embraced me twice with great tenderness, and permitted my secretaries and all my retinue to pay their respects to him; and after once more folding me in his arms, he led me into the long gallery of the garden of pines, where we had a conversation which lasted two hours.

HIS majesty began it by informing me of all the interesting news he had received from foreign countries, and afterwards of every thing that had passed during my absence, either in the council, in the affairs of the finances, or in the court, where his domestic quarrels, which were resumed with more violence than ever, made him often wish, he said, that I had been with him. He questioned me in my turn, upon several particulars of my journey, especially concerning the dispositions the protestant churches and some of the heads of the party whom he named to me were in, as I might now have a full knowledge of them. I gave him great joy by the proofs I brought him of a voluntary submission from those persons, which, in all the rest, secured to him an unavoidable obedience: I made it plain to him that Lesdiguières, whose troops, forts, money, and capacity, were greatly exaggerated, who disturbed the tranquillity of his master, through a fear that his
equivocal

equivocal conduct would terminate in open rebellion, was nevertheless so weak in every respect, that if his majesty, with an army only of six thousand men, marched directly to him without stopping at any place, he would drive him immediately to his last intrenchment, where nothing could prevent his falling into his hands. At present it was not proper to proceed to such extremities with Lesdiguières, as he had not yet given sufficient cause for it. I represented to the king, that it was now time and of the utmost consequence for the extinction of the rebellion, to undertake something against the duke of Bouillon, by using only the precaution of not putting protestant lieutenants into his towns, in the room of those who were leaving them; I engaged my word, that there was not one of those fortresses which would give us the trouble to batter it with our cannon.

THESE considerations determined Henry, although still with a little difficulty, to defer no longer his progress into the southern provinces of France, which has already been mentioned. His two motives for this journey, and for taking his rout through Auvergne and Limosin, were to seize all the towns belonging to the duke of Bouillon, and make such severe examples of those who were convicted of conspiring against the state, as should stifle, for the future, all seeds of rebellion. For the first, he sent commissions to the duke of Epemon for levying three thousand foot; he added a like number to his regiment of guards, and gave orders that a squadron of eight or nine hundred disciplined companies of horse, as well gendarmes as light-horse, should be got ready to accompany him: for the second, he proposed to hold an extraordinary court, the arrests of which he designed to have published and executed by a chamber of justice which he carried along with him, that nothing might retard the course of his justice. These terrible preparations were indeed absolutely necessary in the provinces, where it seemed as if the contagious
air

air of civil broils was concentred, when it was entirely dissipated every where else : this step likewise was necessary to bring the business of Orange to a conclusion ; nor could it be made in a more favourable time, the affairs of Flanders and England affording him leisure this year, but which could not be of long duration.

I OBSERVED to the king, that since it was necessary this journey should be over before the month of October was expired, it ought not to be delayed a moment longer. Henry still thought I pressed him too much : however, at length he resolved upon every thing. It was agreed between us, that his majesty should march along the Loire with his troops both horse and foot, while I, with a train of artillery consisting of two cannons, two culverins, and two demi-culverins, should march by Montrond, which is the direct road. I left to Henry's directions every thing that related to the troops, and returned myself to Paris, to settle the affairs of the council with all possible expedition, and to name the members of the chamber * Des grand jours, whom it was necessary to send away first.

AT court, and in the council, it was supposed this journey would terminate in the same manner as that to Provence had done the year before. The orders which were given for so sudden a departure, in a season still farther advanced, furnished the indolent and sensual courtiers with a thousand new arguments against it ; but when they saw that Henry was inflexible, they prepared to follow him, often cursing the man whom they supposed had given him the advice : but it threw the duke of Bouillon's partisans into the utmost consternation, who had not, as may be easily imagined, used any endeavours to divert the storm. La-Chapelle-Biron†, and Giverfac, who

* An extraordinary sessions called by virtue of the king's commission or letters patents.

† Charles de Charbonnières, sieur of La-Chapelle-Biron ; Mark de Cuignac, sieur of Giverfac.

who were most faithfully devoted to him, as having received the most Spanish gold, intreated the sieur de Fouillac † to go to court, and assure his majesty that they were ready to give him any testimony of their obedience which he should require : it was the people of Turenne only who made any shew of resistance ; Rignac § and Bassignac threw themselves into that place, provided it with ammunition, and lodged all the artillery in it upon the platforms. These advices were sent his majesty by Fouillac and Baumeville, who dispatched the senechal de Brive with them ; but all this was executed with so much terror and dismay, that the king, who had given d'Epemon and Roissy || orders to advance thither before him with their troops, did not think it necessary to strengthen them with the regiment of guards as he had at first intended.

FOUILLAC gave also some other informations, conformable to what had been said by Rodelle, concerning the state of the revolt in the provinces of Limosin, Perigord, and Quercy ; and by him it was discovered, that the true cause why a great many gentlemen did not come and throw themselves at his majesty's feet, as they had intended, was that l'Aubagnac had been sent from Sedan, to dissuade them from taking that step ; and that many of them had also lately received considerable sums of Spanish money, which had been distributed amongst them by Guienne. The duke of Bouillon, in whose name this money was given, recommended it to them, at the same time, not to be discouraged or alarmed at the preparations which were making against them, since he engaged his word to make things take another turn before October ; and that his friends (those were his terms) should see him sooner than they hoped, and his enemies sooner than they desired :
these

† Raimund de Sognac, sieur de Fouillac.

§ Peter de Rignac ; Gideon de Bassignac or Vassignac.

|| John James de Mesmes, lord of Roissy.

these sounding words effectually imposed upon them. Foussac, however, assured the king, that there had not come more than ten or twelve thousand crowns from Spain; but Bouillon, always supplying the want of money with confidence, had given them to understand, that this small sum was sent to them to be distributed amongst their subaltern friends, and that other sums far more considerable were reserved for them: they were simple enough to believe him, and after this no longer talked of soliciting for a pardon. The king ordered two hundred crowns to be given to Foussac for the expences of his journey, and sent him back to continue on the spot.

HE left Paris himself on the 15th or 16th of September*, escorted by the regiment of guards, and the squadron I have already mentioned, and began his march towards Orleans, while I took the rout before agreed on. He had not got farther than Hallier, before he saw the good effects of his journey: two gentlemen of Quercy named Causse and Brigantin, came to meet him at this place to implore a pardon for themselves, and a hundred and twenty other gentlemen; and that they might in some degree merit it, they offered to discover, in a court of justice, all that they knew of Bouillon's proceedings, and maintain the truth of their deposition with the points of their swords, and at the expence of their blood. These two deputies revealed likewise all the plots which had been carried on by Rignac and Basignac, in the duke of Bouillon's favour; among others that of seizing Ville-neuve in Agenois, for which Bouillon had not the least plausible pretence. It being at this place that his majesty had first received notice of the attempts made by d'Entragues, to deliver the count of Auvergne from his confinement in the Bastile, as I have

* In regard to this journey of Henry IV. to the Limosin, see de Thou, b. 24, the *Mercure François*, anno 1605, and the original of a letter wrote by Henry IV. to M. de Rosny. *Lettres de Henry le Grand.*

have related in order; he desired me to meet him at Orleans, which he expected to reach the next day, being Saturday September the 24th, advising me to send the artillery in the mean time to Argenton, through which place he proposed to pass. These orders, however, were not executed, it being impossible for me to go to Orleans: his majesty approved of my reasons; and I gave him in writing the advice he demanded of me, which was conformable to those measures I had alway solicited him to pursue with regard to d'Entragues.

HENRY arrived at Orleans on the appointed day, and left that city on Monday the 26th of September: he avoided the road through Berry and Sologne, on account of the scarcity of provisions in that barren country, and the diseases which he was told prevailed there; he therefore marched towards Blois, and from thence to Montrichard, again appointing a rendezvous with me at Loches, expressing an earnest desire to confer with me personally upon the present state of affairs. Hitherto he had not received any marks of submission from the duke of Bouillon: on the contrary, the resistance of Rignac and Bassignac in Turenne, and Sinceraï was confirmed. From Metz he had advices, that Bouillon would have assistance from another quarter; the elector palatine, it was said, had, upon the report of the king's expedition, sent for his colonels and captains, and the governor of Luxemburg was making preparations and assembling forces. D'Epernon incessantly pressed the king to advance, and demanded, with some kind of displeasure, officers and provisions for the recruits, which he said he had raised with great difficulty. His majesty referred this business to me, desiring that I would give proper directions thereupon to D'Escures, or the other officers and inhabitants of those places; and with regard to Bouillon, he held himself prepared for resistance, although hitherto he saw no appearance of it.

IN effect, this prince had scarce reached Blois, before he received a courier from the duke of Bouillon, who brought him a letter dated from Sedan, September the 20th, in which, after making his usual protestations of grief for having offended his majesty, and of his intentions to repair his fault at the price of his blood, he declared, that he had never entertained the least thought of disobeying his orders, or resisting his person; that he had given an absolute command to his lieutenants to receive him in all his towns and castles, a needless order, he added, since there was not one person belonging to him who did not look upon his majesty as his sovereign master; that he desired nothing more ardently than to have brought him the keys himself, and, with the utmost humility, implore to be again received into his favour. The king appeared satisfied with this procedure of Bouillon: however, he represented to him, that he ought to have sent Rignac and Bassignac, against whom such heavy crimes were alleged, to have justified their conduct personally. Blanchard was the man whom Henry was most desirous of seeing, as there was no person in the world who had a greater share of Bouillon's confidence, he being his steward, or was better acquainted with the steps of the whole party; but he did not appear: Henry therefore thought he ought not to discontinue his march, at least till he came to Limoges, that he might see how far the duke of Bouillon's lieutenants would carry their obedience. However, Blanchard arrived at Blois before his majesty left that city; and what added to the king's satisfaction, he came voluntarily, and with an intention to obtain his pardon, by making a faithful confession of all he knew.

IN effect Blanchard unfolded the whole mystery of the plot; he acknowledged, that, seconding with all his power the bad intentions of the duke his master, he had been always obliged to have recourse to the mean artifice of exaggerating facts, enlarging views,

views, and making promises a thousand times greater than he well knew could ever be performed: so that the execution of their designs had always been as remote, as they had affected to say it was near. Blanchard's deposition appeared to his majesty to be of such consequence, that he ordered him to give it him in writing: and now he began to be convinced of the justness of my opinion, which he had so long opposed, namely, that the duke of Bouillon's party made all this noise, only because they could do nothing more. Notwithstanding this, Henry would neither stop nor lay down his arms, till his will was complied with without any restriction. He remembered to have heard it said among the protestants, that the places the duke of Bouillon possessed did not belong to him, but to the whole party, having been given as cautionary towns, and held as such by officers of the reformed religion: he feared therefore that he might make use of this pretence to keep them, and thought it the securest way not to disband his troops, till Villepion, whom he had appointed to take possession of Turenne in his name, had been received into that capital of Bouillon's. I had written to La-Caillaudiere that he might disband the cavalry; his majesty made me revoke this order, and in the beginning of October, left Blois and proceeded to Tours, having again altered his design of marching through Montrichard and Loches.

THE conveniency of the river and castle of Pleffis, determined the queen, who had attended his majesty to Blois, to go as far as Tours with him. The king, when he informed me of this alteration in his march, sent me word that, as soon as this princess had left him to return to Paris, he would continue his route through La-Haye as far as Châtelleraut, where I had appointed to meet him. In proportion as his majesty advanced, all difficulties fell before him: Villepion was received without the least disturbance into Turenne: and before
Henry

Henry reached Limoges, all the other towns depending on the duke of Bouillon, were yielded in the same manner to the officers his majesty sent thither to represent his person. All this was conformable to the duke's example, who continued to declare loudly, that he had no hand in the commotions of the province, and that he had been accused through mere calumny. Bassignac distinguished himself by his obstinacy; for, cutting his beard, and disguising himself, he fled through Geneva to Sedan.

NOTHING more remaining to be done by arms, the chamber des grand jours began the exercise of its office: the king would not stay for the conclusion; he was weary of Limoges, after a stay of eight days there, and rode post to Paris. He left me in this province, invested with his authority, as well in criminal matters as for disbanding the troops, which kept me ten days after him. We went back to the source of the rebellion, by endeavouring to discover the first authors of it; and so successful were our inquiries, and the effects of them, that all remained peaceable for the future. It was thought sufficient to behead ten or twelve of the most active of the rebels, among whom, those of greatest note, were the two Luquisses, gentlemen of Languedoc, who had been already mentioned; and † Meirargues, a kinsman of the Joyeuses; the first for having undertaken to deliver up Narbonne to the Spaniards, and

† Lewis d'Alagon, or rather Lagonia, baron of Meirargues, was arrested at Paris, in the monastery of Saint-Germain, together with the Spanish ambassador's secretary, and beheaded on the 19th of December; his body was quartered, and fixed over the principal gates of the city, and his head was carried to Marseilles, where it was fastened on the head of a pike over the chief gate. The king ordered the Spanish secretary to be set at liberty, without waiting for the determination of the question, at that time strongly debated, whether it is right to give up to the course of justice, an ambassador, resident, or any other foreign minister, who violates the law of nations. MSS. Royaux, 8477. See also the discussion of this question, and Henry IV.'s discourse on this occasion to the Spanish ambassador. *Mem. de Nevers*, vol. II. p. 858. *Matthieu*, vol. II. book iii. p. 689. and other historians.

and the latter Marseilles. I have no reason to doubt, but, that after these examples of rigour, the hatred of the protestants against me was wound up to its utmost pitch. I cannot but complain of this unjust prejudice, which however did not extend to all : Theodore Beza was my friend, and his approbation alone was sufficient to comfort me for the causeless malice of a thousand others.

THIS venerable old man, who exercised the function of a minister at Geneva, was seized with an illness towards the latter end of this year, in the eighty-seventh year of his age; his distemper, which before the eclipse* of the sun which has rendered this year memorable, was but very slight, grew fatal from that moment, and a few days after put a period to his life: he preserved, till the last moment, the full force and vigour of his mind, in a body weakened by infirmities and exhausted by age; he ordered his attendants to lift him out of his bed; and then, with the utmost fervour, he offered up his prayers to God, and in the most earnest and pathetic manner, exhorted all those who were present to a performance of the duties of religion and holiness; after which, he was again laid in bed, where he expired without pain, nature being quite worn out in him: he did not forget me in his last moments; and thinking that he owed me some acknowledgment

* This eclipse happened on the 2d of October, according to M. de Thou, and on the 3d, according to the *Mercure Franc.* at one o'clock in the afternoon; it continued two hours, and for half an hour it was as dark as possible: Le Grain says, that during an hour and a half, one could not, without difficulty, read or write without a candle. L'Etoile was freer than M. de Sully from the popular prejudice, in regard to eclipses. "Many strange maladies of different kinds, says he, raged in Paris at that time; and, together with the eclipse, which happened on the 2d of this month, eclipsed many persons who have never been seen since: dysenteries, especially, were very dangerous and mortal to those who happened to be attacked by them, and more in other places than at Paris; few of them escaping." Anno 1605. The same author says, that Beza died the day after the eclipse.

knowledge for the visit I paid him at Geneva, and the service I did him, when I presented him to his majesty at the head of the other deputies from his city, he desired Deodati to present a book to me in his name, intituled, "The treasure of piety;" this was the New Testament, translated by him, with notes, which, together with the other versions, both ancient and modern, formed a complete work: this he inscribed to me, and in the epistle dedicatory gave free scope to the favourable sentiments he entertained of me. Deodati punctually performed his last commands, and in the month of November sent me the book, with a letter, from whence these circumstances are taken.

I SHALL conclude my relation of his majesty's journey with that of a quarrel which happened between me and the count of Soissons, followed by another with the duke d'Epéron. The count having taken offence at something which the king had done or said to him when he left Paris, thought proper to revenge himself upon me. I had, as has been observed before, left my train of artillery, to take the direct road to Limoges, that I might meet his majesty at Châtelleraut. The count of Soissons ordered his harbinger to go to the quarter-masters, who were then employed in marking out the king's lodgment, and ask them which was reserved for me, and to take possession of it for him, in spite of all opposition. This was not so easy to be done as said. A great number of gentlemen of the province, who knew the rights of a governor as well as myself, being present when the count's harbinger was preparing to execute his orders, they prevented him, without even acquainting me with what they had done. The count did not fail to complain to the king of this indignity, which he said his honour was concerned to resent; and, as an aggravation, added, that I had caused his harbinger to be beaten.

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THE king, who knew his humour, gave him but little satisfaction ; but the count made so much noise, and asserted the fact so positively, that Henry sent D'Escures to me to know the truth. All I knew of the matter, which I told him, was, that upon receiving information of what was doing, I went to the place destined for my quarters, where I found above fifty Poitevin gentlemen, who all together exclaiming against the unjustifiable procedure of the count's harbinger, had made use of threats to prevent his going farther. The count of Soissons still insisted, that it was a designed insult upon him, and demanded justice of the king. He found none to take his part : and Henry, by all the arguments he could think of, endeavoured to convince him that his complaint was groundless : he told him, that all governors have a right in their provinces to take place of every one but the king ; and that I, as grand master, had the additional right of claiming the next quarters to the king, when he marched in the body of the army ; therefore it could be no encroachment to have only part of those quarters, when the whole is at the disposal of the grand-master : no one pretending any right, or fixing on any part of it for himself, without my permission ; and for this reason the quartermaster had put to mine the accustomed mark which secures his to the king ; these are the words, " For the king : " the count of Soissons' harbinger therefore ought through respect to have abstained from his attempt.

NONE of these reasons having any weight with the count of Soissons, there was a necessity that Henry should think of some expedient to satisfy us both ; and this expedient was, that when I came, as usual, to pay my respects to the king, I should make my compliments likewise to the count, and offer him, through mere politeness, my quarters ; which the count, returning my civility, should refuse : this was accordingly done,
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but it was on my part only ; for the count, making use of a mean artifice, from whence he afterwards derived a still meaner occasion for boast, suffered me to make all these advances, without any return on his side, and took possession of my quarters, because I could not decently unsay what I had said. But this joy, and the railleries which enhanced it, lasted no longer than till the next day.

As he was passing through the street where I lodged, followed only by two gentlemen (for he was going to hunt along with his majesty) he found the street filled with gentlemen, to the number of two hundred, who were waiting till I came out to mount my horse, and who, as soon as they saw him at a distance, crowded together, as if for diversion, so close, that they left no passage for the count ; and his equerry, not being able to open him one, was obliged to cry out, “ Make way, gentlemen, make way for monsieur the count : ” but they, raising their voices altogether, talked so loud, and so confusedly, that the equerry could not make himself heard ; some of them muttering, at the same time, that it was never known that a governor of a province was dispossessed of his lodgings in a place where he represented the king’s person. The count was obliged to wait a quarter of an hour before he could get room to pass. And for a farther aggravation of his misfortune, not one of these gentlemen saluted him. This was a new subject for complaint to the king. His majesty told him, he was sorry for what had happened, but could do nothing for him, since he must not expect that, in complaisance to him, he would make enquiries among four or five hundred gentlemen for the persons who offended him, when he would point out no particular man ; they at the same time supposing they had some right to take this revenge upon him, for an insult injurious to them all.

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THE count of Soissons found no one to take part in his resentment but the duke of Epernon, who was himself then violently enraged against me on the following occasion: the Rochellers hearing that his majesty would pass near their city in his march, sent a deputation to him of their chiefest citizens, as a mark of their gratitude and respect. I was the person to whom they applied; therefore the king ordered me to conduct them to audience, which he gave them in the presence of the whole court: they told his majesty they were come to intreat he would honour them with his presence in their city, since he was so near it; assuring him, that although he was at the head of an army of catholics, he should not be received with less respect and submission, than when he came formerly at the head of the protestant troops; and that if their gates were not wide enough to admit him and his train, they would throw down three hundred fathoms of their wall, since his repeated bounties had enabled them to rebuild it. They then presented the keys to him, with such sincere expressions of joy and affection, that the king was melted even to tears, embraced them thrice, and afterwards, entering into a familiar conversation with them on the times past, assured them, that in him they might always depend upon finding a protector of their liberty, and a zealous preserver of their privileges.

As I was going away at the conclusion of this ceremony, I met the duke of Epernon, who coming to wait upon the king, asked me what was doing? and I, without reflecting upon his question, answered it directly: but I was surprised to see, that at the recital I made him, his countenance was overspread with rage and disdain; and, a moment after, to hear him ask me, haughtily, whether I assumed any right in the government of Rochelle? and by what claim I took upon myself to present the deputies from that city to the king? I never thought it any meanness

to give my friends satisfaction, in cases wherein my conduct might appear doubtful to them; I therefore told him, that it was in the quality of an antient friend of that city, and by his majesty's command, that I had presented the deputies to him. He replied, with the same emotion as at first, that Rochelle being comprehended in his patent for governor, the king, the Rochellers, and I, had equally injured him. I could not help telling him, that the Rochellers would look upon his pretensions as very singular, but that it was from them, or rather from the king, that he was to desire an explanation, and not from me, since I had only acted by his majesty's orders, and without any intention to encroach upon the rights of other persons.

SAYING this, I quitted him coolly, and he went to Henry to tell him the cause of his disgust: he returned more dissatisfied than he went, and all the resource he had was to mingle his grievances and complaints with those of the count. The malicious things they said of me on this occasion, which I had convincing proofs of, was the cause that I afterwards took D'Ornano's part in a quarrel which happened between him and d'Epernon, during the king's stay at Limoges. This increased d'Epernon's rage, and a third disgust which he received from me completed our estrangement from each other: he demanded assignments for the payment of the ammunition bread, furnished by the cities and large towns for the soldiers he had levied. I thought it my duty to acquaint the king before I complied with this request, who, knowing as well as myself that this money would remain in d'Epernon's purse, instead of being delivered to those to whom it belonged, gave me orders to refuse him. This was the rock upon which our reconciliation, our mutual promises of friendship, and those connexions which had been capable of giving umbrage to the king, were all split and destroyed.

VI. 30. At

AT my return from Limoges, I went to give his majesty an account of the use I had made of that authority he had confided in me : we had now a longer conversation together, than at my return from Châteleraut, and upon the very same subject, policy and the quarrels at court. I found him this time also at Fontainebleau, whither he had come to pass the month of October and part of November ; the queen was there also : the king and she met as they entered the court, she in her litter, and he on horseback, for he had rode post. He lost La-Riviere, his first physician there, whom he greatly regretted : he gave his post to Du-Laurens †, who was already first physician to the queen ; and looked out for another for that princess. I did not stay long at Fontainebleau ; a thousand different affairs called me to Paris, where Henry had consideration enough to leave me a long time, without commanding my attendance on him.

I HAVE yet mentioned but some part of those affairs queen Margaret had to communicate to me, in our interview at Cercote. As she proposed to quit her castle at Usson and reside in Paris, she was desirous of having my advice upon this occasion, and to know if she should be well received at court ; whither it was necessary she should go, to prove that she did nothing without his majesty's consent. I assured her, that their majesties would receive her with the utmost respect ; for I was well acquainted with their sentiments in regard to her. A bare assurance would not satisfy her ; she insisted upon my engaging my word as a security, which I did without any hesitation ; and she, on her side, promised

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† Andrew Du-Laurens was the fourth principal physician, whose death Henry IV. had seen since his accession to the crown ; and as he also died four years afterwards, Petit a physician of Gien, who succeeded him, was the fifth. M. de Sully being intreated to procure Du-Laurens' office for Turquet, one of the physicians in ordinary to the king, who was a protestant, answered, " I have taken an oath never to recommend either a physician or a cook to the king."

to be governed wholly by advice. After these mutual engagements, we separated; I took the road to Châtelleraut, and Margaret that of the castle of Madrid, where she intended to lodge.

HENRY, besides the inclination he had to oblige this princess, who well deserved that he should contribute to her satisfaction, had another reason for consenting that she should leave Usson †. He was extremely desirous of having this old castle in his own possession, as its situation, in a very suspected country, might make it one day a convenient retreat for the rebels, as the castle of Carlat had been. The king proposed to throw down this castle if it should be judged not worth preserving; for this purpose, he ordered me to send a faithful and intelligent commissary to the castle of Usson as soon as queen Margaret had left it, and to give him an exact information of the condition it was in at present, but that he should not discover with what intention he went. However, La-Varenne, coming soon after from queen Margaret, declared to Henry, that it would give her great trouble, if the castle of Usson was demolished so soon after her departure; upon which the king wrote to me to defer sending the commissary thither till he had seen that princess. This second order would have come too late, if happily the person whom I had resolved to employ, and who was one of the best engineers in the whole body of the artillery, had not been indisposed, which obliged him to put off his journey for some days.

THE arrival of queen Margaret, and the kind reception Henry prepared to give her, occasioned some
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† She had lived there near twenty years. On her leaving Agen, from whence she made her escape disguised in the habit of an ordinary citizen, riding behind Lignerac, she went to live at Carlat, a castle belonging to a gentleman called Martas. The marquis de Canillac carried her off from this castle, and shut her up in the castle of Usson, which place pleased her so much that she fixed her abode there, though she was left at liberty to quit it whenever she thought proper.

of those idle slanders which the foolish populace are so fond of propagating. The wisest way being to seem ignorant of them, the king made no alterations in those honours he was resolved to pay her. As soon as she came to Paris, he sent M. de Vendôme and Roquelaure, to pay his compliments to her, till he could visit her in person, for he was then at Monceaux; the queen also sent Châteauneuf in her name to this princess. On the 26th of July, Henry went in person to visit her, to Bois de Boulogne †, where she then was, having only passed

† From thence she went to live in the palace of Sens near the Ave-Mary; she afterwards hired a palace in the suburb of Saint-Germain opposite to the Louvre, where she continued till her death. This princess has been so much abused in the libels of that time, that one might be induced to accuse M. de Sully of partiality, in the praise he every where bestows on her in his memoirs, if his testimony were not confirmed by our best historians. The author of *l'Histoire de la mère & du fils*, on their authority, speaks of her in the following manner. "Her degradation in point of rank, was so amply made up by her goodness, and the royal virtues she possessed, as to render her still greatly respected. Like a true heiress of the illustrious house of Valois, she never bestowed a gift on any one, without making an apology for giving so little; she was the refuge of men of letters, loved to hear them talk, her table was constantly surrounded with them, and she learned so much from conversing with them, that she spoke better than any woman of her time, and wrote more correctly than most persons of her sex are capable of doing. In short, as charity is the queen of all virtues, this great princess crowned hers by giving alms, which she did with so liberal a hand to all who stood in need of them, that there was not a religious house in Paris which did not feel the effects of her bounty, nor one poor person who had recourse to her that did not meet with relief; therefore God out of his mercy repaid her with usury, for that which she shewed to his people, giving her grace to make a truly christian end." &c. vol. I. p. 326. This is surely sufficient to compensate for a small number of levities and human weaknesses, which are the utmost of what this princess could ever be charged with. If any one is desirous of seeing further what has been written for or against her on this head, let him read messieurs De Thou, Dupleix, Mézerai, father Daniel, father Hilarion de Coste's elogium of illustrious ladies, Bassompierre, M. Bayle's dictionary under the word *Usson*, and an infinity of other writers. She died on the 27th of March 1615, at her palace in the Faubourg-Saint-Germain, which has since been demolished; she was interred in the church of the reformed Augustins, since called the Little Augustins, which had been founded by her. "She was greatly regretted," says the

Memoirs.

passed through Paris. His majesty went at seven o'clock in the evening, and returned at ten. This interview passed with equal satisfaction on both sides. The king spoke of the castle of Usson to this princess: she consented to what he proposed; and, in that whole affair, he never did any thing without first knowing whether it would be agreeable to her. On the 28th of the same month she came to Paris, to pay her respects to the queen, who came to the Louvre to receive her: she afterwards, on the 4th of August, went to Saint-Germain to see the Dauphin, and staid there four or five days with their majesties. Henry had no greater pleasure than the company of his children, as his frequent journeys to Saint-Germain sufficiently proved. Queen Margaret returned to Bois de Boulogne on the 11th of the same month, greatly affected with their majesties obliging behaviour to her.

By the orders which she gave to her officers who remained at Usson, Barenton, who was sent thither by his majesty, found no opposition, and was put in immediate possession of the castle. He drew up a memorial of the state in which he found it, and brought it to the king, who, persisting in his resolution of dismantling this castle, ordered me to send an engineer or commissary of artillery there as soon as possible for that purpose. I was commissioned to thank queen Margaret in his name, for the chearfulness with which she had made this sacrifice, and to pay her the full value of all the stores and ammunition which were found at Usson, which Margaret had destined for the payment of the garrison she maintained there; if that princess did not rather chuse to give her soldiers these stores and provisions themselves.

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*Memoirs of the Regency of Mary de Medicis, "being a princess
"abounding in goodness of heart, eagerly fond of the welfare and repose
"of the state, who did no harm to any one besides herself." These few
words, I apprehend, are sufficient to give us the perfect idea we ought
to form of her character, and sufficiently agree with what M. de Sully
says of her.*

I SHALL conclude the memoirs of the present year with an article, which I am already certain will have the approbation of all just and sensible persons; and for which I am also as secure of their acknowledgments. In all the principal cities of the kingdom, especially those which have arsenals and academies, there are also schools for the young nobility, in which are taught all kinds of sports and exercises, as well military, as those designed merely to form a graceful carriage, and give strength and activity to the limbs: and these exercises are no where more carefully cultivated than at Paris, where the spacious courts of the arsenal, destined to this use, are full almost every hour in the day. I was always of the same opinion as Henry concerning these exercises: he often asserted, that they were the most solid foundation, not only of discipline and other military virtues, but also of those noble sentiments, and that elevation of mind, which give one nation the pre-eminence over every other. I used to be present at them myself, when I could steal a moment from business, as well through the taste I had for such amusements, as because I thought my presence would excite a laudable emulation amongst the youth.

ONE afternoon, in carnival time, when these sports were most frequent, I left my closet to shew myself to this assembly of young men, and came very seasonably to prevent the consequences of two quarrels, which, from that mistaken notion of honour to which France has made herself a slave, were likely to have been very fatal. These quarrels had taken their rise from a trifle, as it generally happens with the greatest part of those which have been followed by the most bloody catastrophes; but the king (I am grieved to say it) took so little care to enforce the observation of the edicts published by some of his predecessors, against that
barbarous

barbarous custom of duelling, that every day, and for the slightest occasions, some blood was shed.

I THOUGHT it my duty to endeavour to convince these young men who crouded about me, of the error they were in with regard to true valour; "It is, said I to them, in fields of war, and in actions which have the service of our country in view, that courage is permitted to be shewn; that which arms us against our friends, or countrymen, in contempt of all laws, as well divine as human, is but a brutal fierceness, madness, and real pusillanimity." I perceived, that the moral I endeavoured to inculcate appeared very strange to these young men, who were carried away by the heat of blood and ardour of youth: one of them, who, it was apparent, sought to give himself consequence with his fellows, replied, that princes having at all times permitted, nay authorised duels, they had passed into a custom, which holds the place of a law.

I CONTENTED myself for the present with making the youth sensible that he supported his argument upon false and erroneous principles, and with preventing the challenge from proceeding any farther; but as soon as I retired, I gave free course to my reflexions upon the singularity of an abuse, unknown to the most polished, and at the same time bravest people. These reflexions, when thrown upon paper, composed a kind of memorial, which I thought it my duty to present to the king.

DUELS, it is true, are of long standing in France, and indeed in Europe, but in that part only that has been overwhelmed by barbarians, from whose time this hateful custom takes its date, and appears therefore to be derived from them; and if histories of times more remote, such as that of the emperor Otho the first, and that of the divorce of Lothario, gives some instances of single combat, they may be opposed by prohibitions of equal antiquity, issued out by the power

power of the church, as that of the council of Valentinia in 855, or by temporal authority. We have in France a very ancient edict, which forbids them in all civil causes, and in criminal causes limits them to five cases; high-treason, rape, house-burning, murder, and nightly thefts. Saint Lewis † afterwards took away all restriction; and when Philip the IVth, his grandson, seemed to restore them, 1303, in charges of state crimes, rapes, and house-burning, to which he reduced them, he was incited only by a motive at once deserving praise and censure; the hope of abolishing insensibly this custom of bloodshed, which had gathered strength in his time, by confining it to these rare cases set down in a positive law: to make this more evident, he forbid all manner of persons to allow them, by receiving what was called pledges of battle, and declared that right reserved to himself alone.

To shew, by explaining the difference between the ancient duels and those of our time, what a number of nameless abuses have crept into a practice, which itself was from its first original a corruption, it will be sufficient to lay down the circumstances and formalities which were observed in those times.

IN the first place, no-body, however offended, might take vengeance in his own right; and as it is now practised in the first emotion of caprice and passion, and much less in mere bravado, which, in my opinion, is of all things the most contrary to the laws of society. They had their judges, before whom he that thought himself injured in his honour, was

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† On the subject of these edicts of Saint Lewis and Philip the fair, as also of the origin, manner, and whatever has relation to single combats, consult the writers who treat of it; such as Paul de Montboucher sieur of la Rivaudiere, in his Treatise on the ceremonies and laws of challenges and single combats, &c. in 1608; John Savaron sieur of Villars, in his Treatise against duels, with the edict of Philip the fair, in 1610; Brantome, in the tenth volume of his Memoirs, intitled Touching Duels; D'Audiguier, Du-Pieux, Ruault, Basnage, and many other Italians.

to give an account of the wrong suffered, and demand permission to prove, in the way of arms, that he did not lay upon his enemy a false accusation. It was then considered as shameful to desire blood for blood. The judge, who was commonly the lord of the place, made the person accused, appear likewise before him; and never allowed the decision of battle, which was demanded by throwing a glove, or some other pledge upon the ground, but when he could get no other proof either of guilt or innocence.

THE pledge were received, and the judge deferred the decision of the quarrel to the end of two months, during the first of which the two enemies were delivered each of them to common friends, upon security for their forthcoming: their friends endeavoured by all sorts of means to discover the person criminal, and to give him a sense of the injustice of maintaining a falsehood, from which he could expect nothing but the loss of his reputation, of his life, and of his soul; for they were persuaded, with the utmost degree of certainty, that heaven always gave the victory to the right cause; and therefore a duel, in their opinion, was an action of which the event could be determined by no human power. When the two months were expired, the two rivals were put into a close prison, and committed to the ecclesiastics, who employed every motive to make them change their design. If, after all this, they still persisted, a day was at last fixed to end their quarrel.

WHEN the day was come, the two champions were brought fasting in the morning before the same judge, who obliged both of them to declare upon oath that they said the truth, after which they suffered them to eat; they were then armed in his presence, the kind of arms being likewise settled: four seconds, chosen with the same ceremonies, saw them undressed, and anointed all over the body with oil, and saw their beards and hair cut close. They were then

then conducted into an inclosed ground, and guarded by armed men, having been made to repeat, for the last time, their assertions and accusations, to see if they persisted in them without alterations. They were not even then suffered to advance to the combat: that moment their seconds joined them at the two ends of the field for another ceremony, which of itself was enough to make their weapons drop from their hands, at least if there had been any friendship between them. Their seconds made them kneel down in this place facing each other; they made them join hands, with the fingers of one put between the fingers of the other; they demanded justice from one another, and were conjured on each side not to support a falsity; they solemnly promised to act upon terms of honour, and not to aim at the victory by fraud and enchantment. The seconds examined their arms piece by piece, to see that nothing was wanting; and then conducted them to the two ends of the lists, where they made them say their prayers and make their confession; then asking each of them whether he had any message to send to his adversary, they suffered them to fall to, which they did at the signal of the herald, who cried from without the lists, "Let the brave combatants go." After this, it is true, they fought without mercy, and the vanquished, dead or alive, incurred all the infamy of the crime and the punishment; he was dragged upon a hurdle in his shirt, and afterwards hanged or burnt, while the other returned honoured and triumphant, with a decree that attested him to have gained his suit, and allotted him all manner of satisfaction.

THAT THERE is throughout all this ceremony something wild and ridiculous; but, however, the voice of reason, authority, and prudence, is still heard, though its dictates are utterly mistaken; whereas there is nothing but monstrous unreasonableness in the practice of those smart youths, who withdraw sily into a field

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to shed the blood of one another, with hands impelled by no better instinct than that which instigates a beast of prey. If men went to fight with the same coolness and deliberation as in former times, can it be imagined that there would be the hundredth part of the duels that now happen? But men have thought it necessary to dismiss consideration from that action, which is serious above all others: some rush blindly into this danger, others please themselves with being born for the destruction of their fellow-creatures; others revive the hateful trade of the gladiators, and are indeed more dreadful and contemptible than the men that bore that name were heretofore.

THE forms of duels which were observed in Germany, differ not essentially from those of France, which I have described: they were likewise received in Spain and England; only he who yielded to his adversary upon a single wound was reputed infamous; he could not afterwards either cut his beard, bear any office, wear a weapon, or mount a horse. On the contrary, he who died in a courageous defence was buried honourably. Another singularity, which must have kept duels from being common in Germany, was, that there were only three places where they could be fought, Witzbourg in Franconia, Uspach, and Hall in Swabia.

I COULD not wait for his majesty's return to Paris, to communicate to him the memorial of which I have now mentioned the contents; to inform him of the accidents to which this practice gave occasion; and to desire him to put a stop to an evil which was every day spreading by his indulgence. I intreated him to attend to the counsel which I had presumed to give him, to renew the edicts against duels, to aggravate the punishment considerably, and execute it severely; and to forbid all men to prosecute any word of injury or offence otherwise than by course of law; but to manage so, that the justice obtained might be speedy and satisfactory;

tory; to make the complainant easy, and the aggressor penitent; and lastly, to have this new order fixed up, at the beginning of every year, in the courts of the Louvre, the palace, the arsenal, and in other places that were most frequented †. It is certain, as I represented to his majesty, that a reputation for personal valour, such as this prince had established, was able to give an edict concerning duels twice the authority that it could derive from mere royal pleasure; but the pleasure of the master of kings, a power far superior, did not allow to the reign of Henry the Great, the extirpation of this abuse.

It may be said, without pretending to justify this prince, that his easiness with respect to duels proceeded from a habit contracted by his long wars, by which he saw bloodshed without emotion; and that he was likewise not much less indifferent about his own blood. He had always some notion that the last moment was inevitably predetermined: this opinion he disguised to himself, under the christian notion of resignation to God. There was sent me from Rome, about that time, an account of a conspiracy against the state, and an attempt upon the life of the king, which I thought I ought to disclose to him, though it seemed to me worthy to be despised, as indeed he despised it. He told me, on that occasion, that he was convinced of its being best for his happiness to pay no manner of regard to intelligence like this ‡, and that otherwise his life would be worse than death; that the calculators of nativities had threatened him, some, that he should die by the sword;

† If we attentively read what cardinal de Richelieu has said on this subject, in his Political Testament, part I. chap. iii. §. 2. the title whereof is, *Of the means to prevent duels*; we must own, that great minister seems to have drawn all his reflections on this matter from this and other parts of these Memoirs where duels are spoken of.

‡ "Let him alone," said this prince to those who persuaded him to punish a man who had been engaged in a conspiracy against him, "he is a wicked wretch whom God will punish, without my interfering." Matthieu, vol. I. b. 2. p. 359.

sword; and others by a coach: but that none of them had ever mentioned poison, which seemed to him the easiest way to dispatch him, because he eat a great deal of fruit of all kinds that were offered him, without having them tasted; therefore, upon the whole, he gave himself up to the Lord of his life and of his death.

It was not possible but speaking in this manner, Henry reckoned a little, without perceiving it, upon the good fortune that had accompanied him as well in the dangers that particularly threatened his person †, as those which regarded his kingdom and happiness. Of eight persons from whom he had most to fear in this latter respect, he remarked that some favourite planet had freed him from six of the most considerable; that one was dead in the hangman's hand, and two others of sickness; the fourth was actually in prison; the fifth was gone into voluntary banishment; the sixth was reduced to flatter him whom formerly he endeavoured to destroy. For the other sort of good fortune, we have seen examples throughout this history: but, alas! this good fortune was not complete; but an unhappy moment for France, as well as for the prince, has wholly blotted out the idea of prosperity.

BOOK

† Henry IV. escaped one, on Monday the 19th of December; of which M. de Perex gives the following relation. "The same day on which Mairargues was executed, an unfortunate madman made an attempt on the sacred person of the king, rushing on him with a poignard in his hand, as he returned from hunting over the Pontneuf. His majesty's footmen running up obliged him to quit his hold, and were going to beat his brains out on the spot, had not the king forbid them, and ordered him to be imprisoned in Fort L'Eveque. His name was John De-Lisle, a native of Vineux near Senlis. He was immediately afterwards examined by the president Jeannin, who could not get any rational answer from him: for he was entirely out of his senses: he fancied himself to be king of all the world, and said Henry IV. had usurped the kingdom of France from him, and he was therefore going to chastise him for his temerity: whereupon the king thinking him sufficiently punished by his madness, commanded he should only be kept in prison, where he died soon after." History of Henry the Great, part 3.

BOOK XXIII.

THE king and queen being at Paris on the first day of this year, 1606, I went to the Louvre in the morning, to pay my respects to them, and offer the usual presents. I did not find the king in his own chamber; L'Oserai and Armagnac told me, that he was in bed with the queen, and that, probably, both were still asleep, because the queen's indisposition had kept them awake almost the whole night. I passed on to the queen's apartment, to enquire of La-Renouillere and Catherine Selvage the state of their majesties health; and knocked at the door as softly as possible, that I might not wake them. I found that the courtiers were already admitted; for several voices, which I knew to be those of Roquelaure, Frontenac, and Beringhen, asked all at once, "Who is there?" and when I answered, I heard them say to the king, "Sire, it is the grand master:" "Come in, Rosny, said his majesty to me, "you will think me lazy, till you know what has kept us so late in bed: my wife, who believes she is in her eighth month, having had some pains as she was going to bed, I was apprehensive that she would have a dangerous labour; but towards the middle of the night they proved to be only the effects of the cholic; and she growing easy we fell asleep, and neither of us waked till six o'clock this morning; but on her part, with groans, sighs, and tears, for which she has assigned imaginary causes. I will tell you what they are when some of these people have left the room, for you will not fail to speak your sentiments freely, and I believe your advice will not be unuseful on this occasion, any more than on many others of the same kind. But, in the mean time, let us see what you have brought us for our new-year's gifts, for I perceive you have three of your
" secretaries

“ secretaries with you, each loaded with a velvet bag.” “ I remember, sire, replied I, that when I last saw the queen and your majesty together, you were both in very good humour, and believing that I should find you still so, and in expectation of another son, I have brought you a great many new-year’s-gifts, which, from the pleasure they will be received with by those persons among whom I shall distribute them in your name, will afford you great satisfaction; and I could wish this might be done in the presence of your majesty and the queen.” “ Though she says nothing to you, replied the king, and plays the dormouse, as usual, yet I know she is not asleep; but she is offended both with you and I: we will talk of this when only you, Renouillere, Beringhen, and Catherine are present, for they know something of the matter—but let us see your gifts.” “ These presents, said I to his majesty, do not express the state of a grand master of the ordnance, nor are worthy of the treasurer of a rich and powerful monarch; but, small as they are, they will nevertheless give more joy to those on whom they are bestowed, and will produce you more acknowledgments, fame, and praises, than the excessive gifts you lavish upon persons who I am well assured thank you only by complaints full of ingratitude.” “ I understand you by half a word, replied Henry, as you sometimes shew you do me; but let us see your presents, and talk no more of what you have heard.”

I THEN ordered my three secretaries to approach. “ Sire, said I, here is Arnaud the elder, who carries in this bag, which holds the papers of the council, three purses of gold medals.” I shewed them to the king, and explained the motto, which expressed the affection of the people for his majesty. “ One of these purses, sire, continued I, is for yourself, the

other

“ other for the queen, and the third for the dauphin ;
 “ that is to say, for Mamanga*, if her majesty does
 “ not keep it herself, as she always does. In this
 “ bag likewise are eight purses of silver medals, struck
 “ in the same manner, two for your majesty, two for
 “ the queen, and four for Renouillere, Catherine Selvage,
 “ and such other ladies of the queen’s chamber as you
 “ shall please to give them to. Arnaud the younger
 “ has in his bag five and twenty purses of silver
 “ medals, to be distributed by the dauphin, madame
 “ de Montglat, madame de Drou, and mademoiselle
 “ de Piolant among the nurses, and other women
 “ attendants on your children, and among the queen’s
 “ maids. And in the third bag, which Le-Gendre
 “ carries, there are thirty little bags, of a hundred
 “ crowns each, in demy-franks, all new, and so large
 “ that they look like whole ones; these are for pre-
 “ sents to the queen’s maids, and the women of her
 “ chamber, and those belonging to the children of
 “ France, according to your orders. I have left two
 “ large bags in my coach, to the care of my servants,
 “ full of douzains, all new likewise, and each bag
 “ worth a hundred crowns, which make twelve thou-
 “ sand sous; these are to be divided among the poor
 “ invalids who are upon the keys of the river near
 “ the Louvre, which I am told are almost full. I
 “ have sent thither twelve of the most charitable men
 “ in the city to range them in order, and distribute
 “ the presents. You cannot imagine how much
 “ these trifling new-year’s-gifts, in little pieces new
 “ coined, will please these poor men, and the queen’s
 “ maids and the women of her chamber : they all de-
 “ clare,

* Madam de Montglat, whom the young prince called so. In the
 9138th vol. of the king’s MSS. which is entirely filled with original let-
 ters of Henry IV. the queen, and madam Elizabeth of France, to madam
 de Montglat, there is one from the young dauphin to his sister, in which
 he tells her, he kisses Mamanga’s hands.

“ clare, that they do not regard these gifts for the
 “ value, but as being instances of your regard for
 “ them; especially the queen’s maids, who say, that
 “ what is given them to purchase cloaths they must
 “ lay out as directed, but these hundred crowns they
 “ may lay out in what trifles they please, which is
 “ more to their taste.” “ But Rosny, said his majesty
 “ to me, will you give them their new-year’s-gifts
 “ without making them kiss you for them?” “ Truly,
 “ sire, replied I, since you once commanded them to
 “ kiss me, I am under no necessity of using prayers
 “ and intreaties, they come very willingly; and ma-
 “ dame de Drou, who is so devout, only laughs at it.”
 “ Ah! Rosny,” continued Henry, with the same gai-
 “ ety, “ since it is so, pray tell me truly, who kisses
 “ you most willingly? and which of them do you
 “ think the handsomest?” “ Faith, sire, returned I,
 “ I cannot tell you, I have no leisure to think of gal-
 “ lantry, and I believe they take as little notice of my
 “ beauty as I of theirs: I kiss them as we do relics
 “ when we present our offerings.” The king could
 not help laughing aloud; and addressing himself to
 those who were present, “ What do you think, said
 “ he, of this prodigal financier, who makes such rich
 “ presents out of his master’s pocket for a kiss?”
 After diverting himself a few moments with this
 thought, “ Go to breakfast, said he to the courtiers,
 “ and leave us to confer a little upon matters of more
 “ importance.”

EVERY one retiring but Renouillere and Catherine,
 the king gently pushing the queen. “ Awake, you
 “ dormouse, said he, give me a kiss, and be peevish
 “ no more, for all our little quarrels are already forgot
 “ by me; I am solicitous to keep your mind easy, lest
 “ your health should suffer during your pregnancy:
 “ you imagine, pursued he, that Rosny favours me
 “ in our little disputes; but you would be undeceived,

“ if

“ if you knew with what freedom he sometimes tells
 “ me truths : and tho’ I often resent those liberties,
 “ yet I am not really offended with him for them ; on
 “ the contrary, I should believe he no longer loved
 “ me, if he ceased to make me such remonstrances as
 “ he thought were necessary for the honour of my
 “ person, the good of my kingdom, and my people’s
 “ happiness ; for be assured, my dear, added he, there
 “ are none so just and so upright, who would not
 “ wholly fall, if, when they began to stumble, they
 “ were not supported by the good councils of prudent
 “ friends and faithful servants : and to convince you
 “ of the truth of what I say, know that Rosny has
 “ been continually telling me, for these fifteen days
 “ past, that you are in your eighth month, and that
 “ I ought not to discompose you, for fear of hurting
 “ your son, for a son he insists upon it, it is*.”

THIS good prince, assuming an air still more tender
 and obliging, intreated her to tell him, before me, what
 was the cause of her waking sighing and in tears. The
 queen at last, turning to him, said, that her grief was
 occasioned by a dream, which seemed to confirm what
 had been predicted to her a few days before, but that
 her mind had been relieved by weeping. She then, in
 her turn, intreated the king to spare her any farther
 uneasiness, at least while she was with child, and to
 avoid giving vent to such expressions, “ which, said
 “ she, make me, as well as others, believe, that you
 “ are happier in the company of other persons than
 “ in mine, and those too, pursued she, whom I well
 “ know

* The astrologers had foretold it, says L’Etoile’s Journal, and that
 the queen’s life would be in danger. She was happily brought to bed of
 a daughter on the 10th of February. Henry IV. in order to comfort the
 queen (for she passionately desired to have a son) said to her, with his usual
 gaiety, that if this daughter should not happen to meet with a proper
 establishment, there would be many others in the same condition ; and
 that if her mother had not bore a daughter, she would not have been
 queen of France.

“ know are not only unfaithful to you, but hate you
“ in their hearts ; I know the reason also, and I ap-
“ peal for the truth of this to M. de Rosny, whose
“ word I will take.”

I AVOIDED this explanation, by answering in a general manner, that it gave me great joy to see their majesties open their minds thus frankly upon their little quarrels ; that I found it would not be difficult to put a final end to them for the future, if they would seriously resolve to yield to such means as would be used for that purpose, by persons who chose rather to serve their true interest than soothe their resentment. This proposal was accepted immediately, and they desired me to propose those means ; the queen saying, that she was resolved to make use of them, and the king, that they would be highly agreeable to him. I then declared to their majesties in plain terms (having first convinced them, that any other remedy would end only in talking and acting to no purpose, as had hitherto been the case) that there was only one way of getting rid, at once, of all the occasions of these perplexities ; that since they had reason to distrust their own steadiness, in taking and keeping resolutions, they should make choice of some person for this business, who while this decision was depending, and after it was determined, should take the whole upon himself, and act as if the king and queen were absolutely without concern in it. I advised them to chuse a man steady enough not to let himself be shaken by any consideration, and capable of such pure and honest affections, as to serve them, when the case required, by opposing their inclinations.

I DISCOVERED not the least inclination to be employed in this business, which indeed was not very agreeable ; but I assured their majesties, that if it was upon me they cast their eyes, they must begin by being absolutely silent with respect to the means they saw me make use of ; and that, to give me a
security

security that my work should not be destroyed by any return of disgust, they should oblige themselves, in the most solemn manner, not to oppose any thing I should do, nor to preserve any resentment against me, although one of the parties, and perhaps both, must, by admitting the remedy I should make use of, do some violence to their inclinations. I believe they guessed what this remedy was * ; and I may venture to assert, that if they had agreed to my proposal, no human consideration should have hindered me from pursuing it ; but I had good reason to fear they would not suffer me to proceed thus far. However, the king replied, that he was ready to sign this engagement ; but the queen, finding herself pressed, durst not venture to make any promise : she said she would consider of it ; or otherwise, I must tell her what it was I intended to do. Yet she knew my intentions as well as the king, but was afraid of the consequences of a compromise. So we did nothing afterwards but talk of that matter to the wind ; for such it is to discuss with a serious air the trifling projects of the court, which have been already so often exhausted and worn out. It was through complaisance for their majesties that I consented to engage in this business, they having earnestly pressed me to it. I retired upon the queen's calling for her shift, and the king for his cloaths.

THE king and queen made my wife and I very considerable presents, in return for my new-year's-gifts ; we likewise received some presents from queen Margaret. All the time the king staid in Paris was spent in balls, masquerades, and diversions of every kind. January the 10th †, this prince came to the arsenal, it being very fine weather, to see a course of running at the ring.

WHEN

* M. de Sully has acquainted us with it before, in the advice he gave the king, to send four or five persons over the mountains, and the like number over the seas, as he expresses himself.

† De Thou, Merc. Fr. ann. 1606.

WHEN the entertainment was over, Henry led me into the great walk in the gardens, where, leaning against the side of the balcony, I heard him with pleasure begin a serious conversation upon his political designs; the motto of my medals, with which he was greatly pleased, had turned his thoughts upon that subject. I had before perceived for some time, that Henry began to be more and more persuaded of the necessity and importance of this political plan; and that he every day removed some obstacle to the execution of it: he used often to say to me, that Philip III. had not profited by the wise councils of Philip II. his father, to look upon all those vain-glorious ideas of universal monarchy, with which his predecessors heads had been intoxicated, as so many idle chimeras: he added, that this prince, by all his proceedings, had made it evident he had not renounced them, and that there was not one among all the princes of Christendom, who would be exempted from the attacks of this proud and insolent monarchy, till it was made to feel its own impotence of power by that great blow, the design of which I had first hinted to him, and to the king of England; and which, as he owned, had not made all the impression on his mind it ought to have done. I believe the proceedings of the chamber Des grands jours in the former years, contributed most to this firmness of Henry; for by thus discovering the secret practices of Spain against him, his natural hatred of that crown was greatly increased.

I MAY venture to affirm also, that the conversation we had together upon this subject had a great share in the resolution he had now taken; and indeed it was not possible for a prince, though he were ever so inattentive to his own glory, to reflect upon all which an insatiable avarice and boundless ambition had in these later times induced the house of Austria to undertake, without being seized with indignation. That

That Raoul de Habsbourg, whose noblest exploits, when his election to the empire was declared to him, had been to lead soldiers into the neighbourhood of Basil, during the factions of the Etoiles and the Papequais, was never easy till he had divided Alsace between himself and the city of Strasburg; and afterwards, increased his little domaine with the dutchies of Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, and other hereditary lands, which are still possessed by his family in Germany. From the beginning of the fourteenth century, when this happened, down to our own times, how many states, what an immense extent of country, has not this all-engrossing house devoured? the kingdoms of Spain, those of Naples and Sicily in Italy, the isles of Sardinia, Majorca and Minorca, Bohemia and Hungary in Germany, Burgundy, Flanders, and all the Low Countries; add to these, the acquisitions she has made in the eastern isles, and in the new world, equal almost in extent to all that is discovered of the three other parts of the earth. Can we still doubt then whether Charles V, who raised her to such an exalted pitch of power, intoxicated with such success, did not seriously think of swallowing up all the rest of Europe, Asia, and Africa.

Is there a necessity to bring any other proofs of this vain scheme for universal monarchy than the destruction of the German protestants, the conquest of Tunis and Algiers, the invasion of France, so openly declared by the irruption made into Provence, and by the famous siege of Metz; enterprises at once formed by that monarch? And if we have seen this project blasted, to what can we attribute it, except to different circumstances, and obstacles raised against himself by the precipitation of a mind which, in the intoxication of success, thinks every thing possible? Charles V. undertook too many things at once, and those greatly beyond his strength; he engaged in those enterprises without caution, and almost without any preparation; he
braved

braved earth, sea, the elements, and seasons. Soliman, who made head against him in Europe, Asia, and Africa; Francis the first, Henry the eighth, the Pope, the kings of Navarre, Tunis, and Algiers, were enemies he despised, and whom he scarce took any notice of: he knew not how to manage the only resources which remained for him; his own subjects rebelled against him in Spain, Flanders, and Sicily: at length when he acknowledged his error, he found no other remedy for it but an effort of despair, which made him abandon all, to confine himself to the gloom of a cloister. I never drew this picture to Henry without adding, that Philip the second, as ambitious as his father, but a better politician, had resumed all his designs, and might possibly have succeeded in them, if his private views upon France, England, and Ireland, had not been crossed by the lucky chance that had brought together two such able heads, as those of Henry and Elizabeth*.

I HAD always been apprehensive of the effects of the courtiers suggestions, and the persuasions of the queen. This princess was continually representing to the king her husband, the advantages of a double alliance with Spain; she affirmed, that if France was united with Rome, and the two Austrian branches, it would be an effectual way to extinguish all factions in Europe, and that policy as well as religion dictated this method. Henry assured me, that this sort of conversation, which had prevailed at court for some time, no longer affected him; and if he sometimes heard and answered such discourse, like one who sought to convince himself by making solid objections, it was only to hinder those persons from penetrating into his designs, and to flatter

* It could only be with a view to invade France in general, or some part of it, that Philip II. intended to possess himself of the duke of Savoy's dominions, by giving the duke some of his own in exchange for them: Matthieu the historian informs us of this circumstance, vol. II. b. ii. p. 240.

flatter them with the hope of gaining him over to theirs, till a proper time came for taking off the masque. We agreed that matters were not yet ripe enough for that; and this conversation concluded, as many others on the same subject had done, by agreeing that till that moment arrived, it was Henry's part to continue his endeavours for drawing into this association, the princes of Germany and Italy, the dukes of Bavaria and Savoy, the former especially, by the prospect of gaining the imperial crown, and the latter by the hopes of acquiring Lombardy, and the regal dignity granted in favour of a marriage betwixt his eldest son and the eldest daughter of France.

THE king could think of no other means to remove those obstacles which he had reason to expect the duke of Bouillon would raise, than to reduce him to reason, by seizing the city of Sedan. This expedient Henry's own mind suggested to him; and he resolved upon it so much the more willingly, as he could undertake this expedition without creating any suspicion of his other designs. He ordered me to prepare immediately a train of artillery, proportionable rather to the reputation of that place, than its real strength, which this prince did not know quite so well as myself: he declared to me, that he was resolved to march thither in person, unless he was prevented from it by the gout, or some other indisposition, in which case he would commit the conduct of this enterprize to me; and that I might join together the authority and dignity suitable to the high employments I exercised, his majesty offered me that moment, and indeed commanded to accept the rank of duke and peer, desiring me to tell him from which of my estates I would chuse to take my title, that he might order Villeroi to make out the patent immediately.

I HAD refused this dignity before when the king sent me ambassador to England; but, since that

time, the repeated bounties of this indulgent master had removed the obstacle which hindered me from taking advantage of his favourable intentions; and finding likewise that this prince wished me to be raised to this rank as much for his own interest as mine, I accepted this new favour with the highest acknowledgment. I named the lands of Sully for my title, and the patent for it was signed on the 12th of February, sealed a few days afterwards, and registered on the last of the same month*. All the lords of the court, and the greatest part of the *grandeess* of the kingdom, were pleased to accompany me when I went to the parliament for the ceremony of my reception, which was still further honoured by the presence of all the princes of the blood, except the count of Soissons; the great chamber, the hall, all the galleries, and the very courts themselves were so full, that there was scarce room to move. I carried sixty persons of the highest quality home with me to the Arsenal, where an entertainment of flesh and fish was prepared for them, and was most agreeably surprised to find his majesty, who went thither during the ceremony, without giving me notice of his intention, “Grand Master,” cried the king, as soon as I entered, “I am come to the feast without being invited; shall I have a bad dinner?” “It is possible you may, Sire, I replied, since I did not expect to be honoured with your presence.” “I assure you I shall not,” returned the king, preventing my acknowledgments, “for while I waited your return, I visited your kitchens, where I have seen the finest fish imaginable, and ragouts in my own taste; and because you staid too long, I have allayed my hunger with some oysters, and drank some of your wine
“ of

* De Thou, b. xxxvi. and almost all the historians, mention the distinguished manner in which this dignity was conferred on the marquis de Rosny. Henry IV. had before made him honorary counsellor of the parliament.

“ of Arbois, which I think is the best I ever tasted.” The king’s gaiety heightened the pleasure of the entertainment ; and the rest of the day was passed to the entire satisfaction of the guests.

HIS majesty sent for me the next morning, and, in the presence of all the courtiers, asked me whether I had remembered to make a memorial of the train of artillery for the attack of Sedan which he had mentioned to me : it was already drawn up ; and when I left my closet I put it into my pocket. I now presented it to the king, who caused it to be read aloud, by which means the courtiers were acquainted with the king’s design ; who afterwards humourously said, that the duke of Bouillon, though a naturalized German, had not probably forgot the French language ; but that if it was so, we might teach it him in a little time by this method. His majesty then seeming to expect my advice concerning this war, I told him, that I did not think the duke of Bouillon had so little judgment, as not to be sensible of the vast disproportion betwixt his majesty’s forces and his own, or so imprudent as to expose himself to the danger of knowing it by experience ; that I had a long time foreseen his city would not hold out against the cannon ; and knowing this better than any other, I was assured that, if he made any shew of resistance, it was only with a hope that, during that time, he might employ more successfully the arts of negotiation : yet that I took the liberty to advise his majesty to write once more to the duke of Bouillon, and let him know that, in the present conjuncture, he might come with full security and throw himself at his feet, and be very certain that, upon this submission and more exactness in keeping his word for the future, his pardon would be granted and himself treated as formerly ; but that if he refused this last favour, he must no longer expect to be received upon any terms of composition. After this I continued to give the king

an account of the preparations I had made ; the king approved of the hint I gave him to send away only the body of the artillery from Paris, and to take up the ammunition and other necessary provisions in places nearer Sedan, to save the expences of carriage.

THIS affair was not pushed on as vigorously as I had expected it would, on account of the great opposition it met with at court, where the least preparation for war seemed to give as much alarm as it could do to the enemies themselves. Nothing was talked of but the difficulties to be encountered before a town, the fortifications and situation of which every one exaggerated to Henry, and of the inconveniencies which would attend a siege as long as that must inevitably be : to hear them, one would have imagined that heaven and earth were interested in favour of Bouillon and his city. They contrived that a memorial on this subject, in the form of a letter, should fall into his majesty's hands, full not only of absurdity but impertinence ; the king thought the style of it resembled that of the duke of Bouillon, with some strokes of Du-Plessis and Tilenus : it was not surprising that the particular friends of Bouillon or the protestants should talk in this manner, such as Montlouet, La-Nouë, and the two Saint-Germains, who might think the whole protestant body concerned in this business : but it was strange that persons who had no connection with the duke of Bouillon, and even others who understood fortification, as the engineer Errard for instance, should never mention this design but to shew the impossibility of executing it : it would be very difficult for me to believe that these persons wished well to the undertaking.

THE king himself fell into an irresolution which was wholly incomprehensible to me ; I often represented to him, but in vain, that he would, by this procedure, give all the advantage of the cause to persons who, having neither arms, hearts, nor hands, depended

depended upon this resource alone : and it is certain, that the duke of Bouillon would not have seen matters carried so far as they were, but because he persuaded himself upon the report of his friends at court, who gave him intelligence of what passed there, that his majesty would never carry his designs into execution. Another expedient which those persons made use of, was to tell the king that the duke had no intention to resist him, but that he could not resolve to appear weak and fearful before persons, who, instead of making him a faithful report of his majesty's intentions, seemed solicitous to widen their difference by threats and insults ; that if, instead of those persons (and here I was certainly meant) his majesty would be pleased to treat with him, by men proper to inspire him with a confidence in his promises, he would be soon convinced of the truth of their assertions. Montluet * and La Nouë, among others, boasted that they would, without any difficulty, bring him back to his duty ; therefore the king thought the best thing he could do was to depute them to him : they brought back nothing but words, and those general and ambiguous ; yet this did not open Henry's eyes, because they likewise represented to him that Sedan, by the new fortifications which was raised there, was absolutely impregnable. I know not whether they really were carried away by this false opinion, or only affected to appear so : but Henry, instead of hastening his preparations after this answer from the duke of Bouillon, discovered more plainly, that he thought the success of this attempt very doubtful.

I LIKEWISE reflected seriously upon the disposition I saw the king in, and began to fear, that when by supporting him against the general outcry, and against his own apprehensions, I should have embarked him in the enterprise ; upon some unforeseen difficulty which he might probably meet with, or by
not

* Francis d'Angennes, sieur Montluet. Odel de La-Nouë.

not having influence enough over his mind already strongly prepossessed, he might abandon it after great noise and expence, or possibly listen to proposals for an accommodation with the duke, upon conditions neither suitable to his person or dignity : in which case it would be better either not to engage in the attempt, or to find, while it was yet time, some other way to save his majesty's honour. I was very sure, that the reproach of making an useless armament, could not fall but upon me; that I should be accused of having done too much or too little, and that faults absolutely contradictory to each other would be imputed to me from the same persons. I concluded, that it was necessary Henry should of himself come to some determination ; and I was willing to see what would be the result of his own reflexions.

I BEGAN therefore to speak less frequently, and with more coolness than before of the enterprize of Sedan, and observed the same conduct in public ; the king was one of the first who perceived this alteration ; and as he did not endeavour to penetrate into my reasons for this behaviour, or thought that I had changed my opinion concerning the duke of Bouillon and Sedan, it came into his mind that, having myself reflected more deeply upon the advice I had given him, I now tacitly retracted it, perceiving that the blow I was aiming against one of the heads of the protestants might fall upon the whole body, by opening a way to oppress one after the other, all who supported them in France. From this thought, which was already firmly established, Henry easily passed to a belief that I had no great reliance upon his equity, or that my attachment to my religion carried me too far ; he declared this suspicion to several persons whom he knew to be my friends, and in order to have it cleared up by myself, he came to the arsenal. I was then confined to my chamber, by the wound I had formerly received in my mouth and neck, from whence issued a splinter of
of

of bone, some lint, lead, and some grains of gunpowder, still so fresh and so little altered, that they took fire when laid on some burning coals.

HENRY turning the discourse upon the duke of Bouillon, "I think, said he, you are not so solicitous about this affair of Sedan, as you were some time ago, nor so firm and steady in your resolves concerning it as I have known you to be on other occasions, where far greater difficulties were to be expected; what is the meaning of it? tell me freely, I entreat you, and do not conceal any thing from me." This prince, by an effect of the liveliness of his temper, did not give me time to reply, but proceeded to discover the notion he had entertained of my alarms and apprehensions with respect to the protestant body in France. He protested with great earnestness against the suspicion of his labouring to ruin the chief protestants one after the other; he appealed to the knowledge I had of his sentiments, and asked whether it was not true, that it was generally known that, in whatever concerned the service of his person and his table, he chose rather to trust himself in the hands of the protestants than the catholics; and he assured me also, that he had no personal hatred to the duke of Bouillon; that he would require nothing dishonourable of him: in a word, that he would make me judge of the manner in which he ought to be treated.

I WAS pleased to hear the king speak thus, and assured him, that I was well convinced of his favourable sentiments for the protestants in general, and for me in particular; yet I owned, that the suspicion he had entertained of me with regard to the affair of Sedan had given me uneasiness: I declared to him the true cause of that coldness he taxed me with; and, having afterwards exhausted all the reflexions which the mind could suggest on this occasion, I disclosed one to him which had occurred to no one but himself; and this was, that the expences Bouillon had been at in fortifying

tifying Sedan having entirely exhausted his funds, and probably involved him in great debts, this might be the real cause of his not yielding to his majesty's desires, since, if he resigned Sedan to him, he would deprive himself of the only resource he had to retrieve his affairs: and this supposed, perhaps all that was necessary to bring the affair to a happy conclusion, was to offer the duke of Bouillon a sum sufficient to pay his debts. I represented to the king, that if, by giving Bouillon two hundred thousand crowns, he might be prevailed upon to accept all the other conditions, his majesty would be still a gainer of six hundred thousand, since the expence of the armament he was preparing could not amount to less than eight hundred thousand crowns. A new motive for treating Bouillon with the utmost rigour of war, if he obliged the king to attack him, was to declare not only the principality of Sedan, but the viscounty of Turenne likewise reunited to the crown; although he pretended to hold them both of France in the same manner, as they do the great fiefs of the crown: I added, that unless his majesty did this, he would have the mortification of having made advances, for which afterwards nothing could make amends. It should seem that it was a kind of foresight of what happened, which made me insist so earnestly upon this alternative, either to shew an extreme indulgence before the enterprise was begun, or, when we had once taken up arms, an inflexible resolution.

THE king replied, that to enter into a negociation with Bouillon, would be to confirm him in the opinion, it appeared by the letter already mentioned he entertained, that his majesty durst not attack him: he consented, however, to let me try this method in concert with the princess of Orange † who was then

† Louisa de Coligny the admiral's daughter, first married to the count de Teligny, who was killed on St. Bartholomew's day; and a second time to William of Nassau prince of Orange, whose widow she then was.

then at Paris, and that we should send Du-Maurier † to the duke with dispatches, the purport and terms of which he left wholly to me. “ But you must likewise “ promise me, added Henry, that, if he should not “ accept the offers you make him, you will serve me “ impartially in this affair, and in the manner you have “ done before,” pursued he, instancing the siege of Amiens, the campaign of Savoy, and other enterprises of the same kind. This I faithfully promised. “ It is “ enough,” said Henry, taking my hand, “ I am “ satisfied, and will rely entirely upon your capacity “ and fidelity.” Saying this he left me.

I WENT the next day to the princess of Orange, and concerted with her the manner in which we should both write to the duke of Bouillon. We settled the deputation of Du-Maurier, and the matter of the instructions which were to be given him. This is the substance of the letter I wrote to the duke; I began by calling to his remembrance the power and personal abilities of the present king, both as well known to himself as to me; and I entreated him to reflect well upon the advantages they gave him, since this was the surest way to avoid the dangers with which he was threatened, and to prevent being blinded by his own prejudices, or carried away by the violence of his passions. This was not indeed to flatter, but as I told him, it was to give him a clear notion of what he might expect, and to prevail upon him to follow the advice offered him by the princess of Orange, and by a man who solicited him as a friend, not to reduce himself to the necessity of giving to force, what nothing but his own obstinacy would hinder him from granting to conditions dictated by the utmost gentleness. I did not enter into a detail of the proposals, but informed him, that Du-Maurier was commissioned to make

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them

† Benjamin Aubery Du-Maurier, at first attached to the duke of Bouillon, afterwards to the duke of Sully.

them to him personally ; besides which, we had reduced to writing all that he had to say to him in our names, that nothing might be forgot or mistaken. I prevented the objections which I supposed he would make, that his majesty did not appear to have any part in the proposals we made him, by giving him my word of honour, and even offering to become surety, if necessary, that his majesty would ratify whatever should be agreed on betwixt us ; adding, that I was willing to be branded with the names of base, perfidious, and dishonourable, if every article was not performed. I concluded with earnestly intreating him not to suffer matters to come to an extremity. This letter, which exactly agreed with that written by the princess of Orange, was dated the 1st of March.

THE duke of Bouillon answered by a letter, dated the 4th of the same month : he told me, that he had received a letter from me, as likewise one from the princess of Orange ; that he had heard what Du-Maurier had to say, and had read his paper attentively, but that he had reason to complain he should be obliged to purchase the king's favour by a meanness which would render him unworthy of it ; that what was promised him was only by a writing, which could be known but to a small number of persons, while all France would be witness of his humiliation, and the little regard the king would afterwards have for him ; that his friends whom he had consulted, and who were not so inconsiderable for their number as has been reported, were all of his opinion ; that his majesty was very far from having those favourable thoughts of him which he had been made to hope for, since he distrusted his fidelity so much, as not to allow him to keep a place of so little strength as Sedan. And here he added, but with more confidence, and in contradiction to what he had just said, that he was well informed there were persons who attempted to impose upon his majesty,

jeſty, by promiſing to make him maſter of Sedan in leſs than a month, and without the loſs of one ſingle man. Bouillon, no doubt, applauded himſelf here on the ingenious way he had found to give me the lye in ſpeaking to myſelf. The whole letter was in this ſtrain of complaints without foundation, and proteſtations of innocence, equally vague and uncertain. He took care to avoid making any confeſſion or promiſe; and all that he ſaid to the purpoſe, after this idle preface, was, that if he had given the king any cauſe to be offended with him, rather than aggravate his fault by denying, he was ready to make a frank confeſſion of it, and to ſubmit to any reparation his majeſty ſhould require; provided it was not expected the return of his favour and confidence ſhould coſt him his poor inconfiderable city, which he was ready in an authentic manner to declare, that he held only from his goodneſs: but that if the king perſiſted in his reſolution to deprive him of it, he ſhould be forced to believe, that though his words expreſſed kindneſs, yet his actions teſtified hatred.

BOUILLON's letter to the princeſs of Orange was conceived almoſt in the ſame terms; and what Du-Maurier related from himſelf having nothing more ſatisfactory in it, the king began to conſider the duke of Bouillon as wholly untractable. I thought it neceſſary, however, to answer his letter: I told him that his majeſty was diſpleaſed at the manner in which he had reſuſed the offers he had made him by me; that he had thought his letters full of diſtruſt, doubts, and of expreſſions very diſreſpectful to him; beſides his affectation of not answering precisely to what was propoſed to him. I added, that I was truly grieved my advice ſhould have no other effect but to imbitter his mind, as it had happened formerly, when I wrote to him upon the imprifonment of marechal Biron; but that the time would come, and perhaps it was already near, when he would be ſenſible that the counſel I had given him was
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in the present conjuncture the best that could be offered; and I warned him, for the last time, to think seriously of it, and earnestly intreated him to take such a resolution as would be most for his true interest, since nothing (whatever he might think to the contrary) would give me more satisfaction.

IN the mean time I had found means to get a plan of Sedan drawn, both of the upright and the ground-plot. The king came to the arsenal to look at it, and brought with him the count of Soissons, the duke of Epernon, the marechals Brissac, Fervaques, Bellegarde, and Roquelaure, Don John de Medicis, De Vic, Montluet, La-Nouë, Boësse, Nerestan, D'Escures, Erard, and Châtillon, who had drawn the plan, but whom I had expressly ordered not to give his opinion before so many witnesses. The situation of the place, its strength, and the form of the attack, were subjects for endless debate among so many persons: Montluet, La-Nouë, and Erard, maintained with great obstinacy, that it was impregnable, and could only be reduced by famine. All this while I scarce made any answer, though they generally addressed themselves to me, and often demanded my thoughts of those terrible fosses, all cut in the rock, for so they alledged they were.

THE assembly separating without taking any resolution, I waited upon his majesty the next day; and after telling him my reason for keeping silence the day before, which was, that among so many persons secrecy is but ill kept, I made him sensible, that none of those diligent observers had attended to any of the defects in the fortification; among which were, the valley of the fountain, that of Ginmenés, the fosses, which in some places were not defended by the natural rock, but flanked with earth brought thither for the purpose; and the two approaches by the river side, one above and the other below, so spacious, that I assured his majesty I would lodge, and that with very little danger, all the troops

troops within two hundred paces of the city, and even under the counterscarp of the artificial ditches, because that the turning of the valleys would cover them from the discharge of the small arms, while the besieged would not be able to shew themselves upon their parapets, nor scarcely in any other place, without being perceived from the eminences in the field, which so absolutely command the whole body of the fortification, that we might have a full view of the inside of the lodgments, from before, behind, and of each side : and I gave his majesty my word, that within the eighth day after the batteries were raised, I would put him in possession of Sedan.

THIS once the king believed me, and in the joy that transported him he flew to impart it to messieurs de Medicis, de La-Force, De-Vic, de Nerestan, and Boësse, whose discretion he was well assured of, and who greatly praised my caution. After this, Henry no longer hesitated whether he should attack Sedan, but prepared to set out as soon as possible, at the head of a body of cavalry, and some companies of the regiment of guards ; while I, in the mean time, assembled the rest of the troops in a body, and sent away the artillery before ; taking care that the country people and citizens should receive no insult, or suffer the least inconvenience, by the quartering of so great a number of soldiers.

THE design of falling upon the duke of Bouillon could not fail to raise murmurs among the protestants ; and it is probable, that the duke depended upon a general insurrection in his favour. If this was the case, he was deceived in his expectations ; to which, I confess, I contributed. I took occasion, from a letter that Parabere wrote to me upon this subject, to give in my answer a kind of manifesto, which might justify to the protestants the king's proceedings, and shew that the duke of Bouillon suffered only through his own fault. It was for this reason that I took much more pains in
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the composition of this letter, and extended it to greater length, than I should have done if Parabere only had been to see it ; for I suspected, and with reason, that it would be made public.

I BEGAN with enumerating the chief favours which Bouillon had received from his majesty, who had preferred him to the prince of Condé himself, made him marechal of France, first gentleman of the bed-chamber, and raised, before any other of the protestants, to all honours and dignities, rewarded with pensions and appointments much larger than what were given to the others, his pensions, salaries, &c. amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand livres a year ; besides which, his majesty had married him as advantageously as he could have done his own son or brother ; favoured him in the succession of Limeuil, and, after the death of the dutchess his wife, supported him with all his power : this particular I was myself an ocular witness of, and I spoke of it as such. These acts of kindness, and these repeated benefits, I contrasted with the ingratitude with which Bouillon had behaved to Henry ; his secret practices, his seditious conduct at the siege of Amiens, his retiring from court when marechal Biron was arrested, and his leaving the kingdom, which was attended with circumstances more than sufficient to condemn him. I took Parabere to witness that notwithstanding all this, himself, Constant, and I, had been greatly instrumental in soliciting those favours which his majesty had since been still willing to bestow upon him : I observed to him, that Bouillon had in some sort confessed himself guilty of high treason, by his requesting a full and general pardon ; and when his majesty appeared ready to grant it, eluded all by a subterfuge which was in itself a crime ; for he, though a subject and domestic of the king, from whom alone he held the principality of Sedan, refused to hold it upon the same conditions of protection which the late duke of Bouillon had accepted from

from Francis II. of whom he was neither a subject nor domestic.

I AFTERWARDS enumerated all the conciliatory methods which some of his chief friends had sent Du-Maurier to propose to him, with full assurance that his majesty would consent to them, namely, that it should be proposed to the king, that Sedan should be considered as one of the cautionary cities given to the protestants; that the duke should sell it to the king; or if not, that La-Nouë should be made governor of it, the sovereignty, and even property, remaining to the duke: but that while the king offered him more than he had reason to expect, he would listen to nothing, and, by his ill-timed obstinacy, obliged us to draw our swords against each other, and to reduce the church of Sedan to the extremity it would be shortly in: that his majesty was so greatly affected at this misfortune, that he had resolved, and even faithfully promised the deputies from the church, to make no change, or introduce any innovation in the religion of Sedan, although he should take it by storm. I concluded with earnestly intreating Parabere to do me justice in public, as to the purity of my intentions, and my grief at beholding one, who professed the same religion as myself, running so blindly upon his destruction.

HENRY thought it necessary to use the same precaution with the protestant party. Bouillon having made, by La-Nouë, some proposals not fit to be received, the king published and answered them by a writing which was distributed among the duke's friends, tho' at the hazard of confirming both him and them in their belief, that his majesty was desirous of ending this affair by gentle means; and they accordingly gave out, that the king now despaired more than ever of the success of his enterprise; to which Bouillon added (as being reported to him by La-Viéville, D'Arson, and Du Maurier, who were deputed to him at different times) that it

was I who thus rashly engaged his majesty, against his inclinations, in a war; and that I one day boasted to this prince, I would take Sedan in three months, by attacking it on the side of Fer-a-Cheval. This last report indeed was true, and made the king begin to reflect upon the pretended fidelity of those he had admitted into his councils; for when those words escaped me there were none present but the king, Don John, and Erard. Bouillon accordingly considered, and treated me as one of his most dangerous enemies, who endeavoured to suppress every favourable thought which arose in the mind of his majesty for him. It was the king's part to answer this reproach, and he did it in the manner I wished; and as for those other reports, which were still more insolent, he resolved to force Bouillon soon to change his style.

His majesty left Fontainebleau the latter end of March, carrying with him the queen, who would go part of the journey †, notwithstanding the badness of the roads; and took his route by Rheims, Rhetel, Mezieres, Doncheri, and Mousson. As I did not see his majesty again till the whole affair was concluded, I shall take the relation I give of it from the letters he wrote to me, and those which by his orders were continually sent me by Villeroi and La-Varenne.

BOUILLON kept up his first arrogance as long as he could: he boasted to Du-Maurier, that as soon as he sounded a trumpet he would drive the forces of France from his gates. The king, while he pursued Bouillon with arms, was desirous also that preparations should be made for his trial, which he commanded me to push on vigorously before I set out to join him. The duke tampered so successfully with

† The queen only made this journey, according to De Thou, the Merc. Franç. and the most authentic memoirs of that time, in order to obtain the most advantageous conditions that were possible for the duke of Bouillon, who had engaged her in his interest.

with four of his majesty's gunners, that they suffered themselves to be prevailed on to desert him, making use of the horses he sent them to La-Fère in Tartenois for that purpose ; a crime which well deserved an exemplary punishment. Although the dutchess of Bouillon did not leave Sedan, yet he managed with such art, that those whom his majesty employed to bring him an account of every thing that was doing there, reported that she had retired to Germany, to avoid the inconveniences she might be exposed to in a besieged city. He was heard to boast likewise, that by stamping his foot upon the ground, he would bring four thousand men into Sedan ; and would have had it believed that he had the absolute disposal of seventeen companies of horse and some regiments of foot, which were in Luxembourg ; and that he should procure a powerful supply from the Swiss Cantons. The most circumstantial advices we received were, that before the 20th of April he expected to be reinforced by five or six hundred soldiers, which he had caused to be levied in Gascony and in the neighbourhood of Limeuil, and ordered them to embark at Bourdeaux. A nephew of Rignac, and a man named Prépondié, raised them, under colour of being recruits for the war in Flanders : his majesty had received notice of this from Pucharnaut, while he was still at Paris.

THESE advices, upon a nearer examination, were found to have greatly exaggerated the truth : it was known that Germany did not offer to stir in the duke of Bouillon's cause ; the king was well assured by Bongars, that the archdukes testified more fear of our armament for themselves, than inclination to declare against us ; Spain thought the occasion too slight to break the peace with France ; and England had not the smallest consideration for Bouillon : three or four hundred Swiss adventurers were all he could depend upon, and this number was likely to be lessened, since our levies against him

him were carried on in those cantons without any opposition. Montglat had not yet seen the elector Palatine, but he wrote from Strasburg, that this prince shared in Bouillon's fears, and the Landgrave sent letters to France to notify his intentions to us.

As for the duke himself, every one knew that he had not more than twelve hundred soldiers in Sedan; and we were afterwards more particularly informed, that he had, in reality, but seven or eight hundred, citizens and adventurers together, part of whom also seemed to have an inclination to leave the place before the approach of the king's army. It was reported that Bouillon himself had retired into Germany, escorted for some leagues by his garrison, and had been seen in Bas-cogne by some soldiers who knew him, and to whom he spoke. Some particulars, with regard to the orders he had given in Sedan for the castle and town, gave room to believe that he did not design to return: but this news, which the governor of Ville-Franche came express to relate to the king, was found to be false; the duke of Nevers, who was better informed, wrote the king word, that the duke of Bouillon had indeed marched out of the town, at the head of three or four hundred men, but it was to meet a German prince, with whom he returned to Sedan the night after. Altho' the several informations given his majesty by his agents did not exactly agree in every circumstance, yet it was known from very good authority, that Bouillon was not far from his city. This German count, whom it was said he had brought into Sedan to undergo a siege there, was the third of the counts of Solme: the eldest was grand master to the elector Palatine; we have seen the second with the sieur Du-Plession: as for this, his knowledge and experience were not spoken of very advantageously.

THE king was indisposed at Nanteuil, with a cold which did not hinder him from hunting, as soon as he began to spit: he wrote me word from this place

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on the 27th of March, that he had missed of his stag, but to make amends for that, he had taken two wolves, which he looked upon as a favourable augury ; at Fresne he found four companies of the regiment of guards, already recruited with seven hundred men, whom he permitted to stay there, till the 1st of April, to raise all the recruits they wanted. It was easy to perceive the heart of Henry expand itself, and a martial ardour appear in his countenance, at his resuming his first glorious occupation. He went two leagues from Fresne to dine, and from thence to attend the service called the *ténébres* at Rheims. Here he continued till the Wednesday following, when he was joined by the duke of Mercœur, and all the nobility of the country. There also he saw Du-Maurier, who came from Sedan, commissioned by the duke of Bouillon to tell him, that he consented to receive a person there, in the king's name, provided that he was invested with no authority, and that his garrison should remain there, commanded by his own officer ; that he was ready likewise to receive his majesty into Sedan with what train he should think proper, and all whom he chose to depute to him, but that he persisted in his resolution to be sole master of his own city ; and rather than resign it, he would be contented to lose his estate, his children, and his life : but in proportion as the danger came nearer, the duke's pride abated.

THE king, without returning any answer to this proposal, sent the duke of Nevers † to Mousson, to assemble what cavalry was come thither, and hinder those supposed troops of the duke of Bouillon from entering Sedan : the whole number amounted but to three hundred men, Swiss and Germans included ; and there was no appearance that any more supplies would be sent him, his majesty being then in a condition to prevent them. The king discovered great
impatience

† Charles de Gonzague de Cleves, duke of Nevers.

impatience to advance towards this city, but he had yet only his regiment of guards with him; the recruits of light-horse arrived in good order, but the remainder of the troops were not to join him till the fourth of April. The king did me the honour to write to me twice from Rheims, on the 24th and 26th of March, pressing me to come thither to him with my son; he proposed to set out on the 27th for Rhétel, and to be at Mousson on the 30th, which was the day he prescribed for the rendezvous of the regiment of guards, although the roads were rendered almost impassable by the rains. His majesty wrote to me also to send him some officers and horses, with a convoy of pick-axes, shovels, and mattocks, and some pieces of cannon of a moderate size, to strengthen his lodgment.

NEVERTHELESS very little dependence was to be had upon all these appearances, as notwithstanding the preparations for war, so many persons were labouring to conclude the affair by way of negotiation; and in effect, the party that was for peace, in a short time prevailed. His majesty, however, was but ill satisfied with the last proposals which Du Maurier had brought from Bouillon, and which, by the king's order, were communicated to the keeper of the great-seal and to me. His majesty was yet more offended with the memorial, in which it seemed as if the duke wanted to treat with Henry as his equal. D'Arson, of his own accord, went to Bouillon after Du-Maurier had presented this impertinent memorial to the king; but Bouillon, after this sacrifice to his vanity, comprehended that it was at last time to change his language, which all of a sudden he softened very much; in consequence of which, he deputed Nétancourt* to intreat his majesty to send Villeroi to confer and treat with him;

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* John de Nétancourt, count of Vaubecourt, counsellor of state, camp-marechal, lieutenant-general of the city and bishopric of Verdun, governor of Châlons in Champagne, died in 1642.

to which the king consented, on condition that the conference was held at Torcy, in the dominions of France. The last act of extravagance of this man, who certainly deserved worse than what actually befel him, was to send back Aërsens, who, with Henry's leave, had been with him, and to declare by him, that he disclaimed Nétancourt, and that he could do without Villeroi.

HENRY must have had some powerful reasons, though unknown to me, which made him depute, as he did after all this, Villeroi and Dinteville †, in order to throw the whole blame of the miscarriage of the accommodation upon Bouillon. With them it appears that Bouillon shewed neither ill-humour, nor a disinclination to treat. Villeroi himself wrote me word what passed between them, and subjoined to his letter a long memorial, which he wrote the same evening being the 30th of March, after he had returned to Donchery. If I was to believe Villeroi (for we shall immediately see the reasons I had to doubt his sincerity) he found Bouillon so dark and irresolute, that he could not answer for any thing till another interview, nay until Bouillon had not only concluded and signed the treaty, but also begun to execute it: now how shall we be able to reconcile this with what follows immediately after, when he says, that it seems as if the duke of Bouillon was coming to reason, but by supposing that he could not help throwing out some dark hints of his knowledge of the treaty being much nearer a conclusion than he cared to tell me. He further acquainted me, that a second conference was to be held the next morning at Donchery, which would oblige the king to spend another day in that place.

As a proof that Villeroi did not communicate to me the whole of this affair, La-Varenne, who wrote to me at the same time, informed me, that Bouillon had presented himself at the conference with the air of

† Joachim de Dinteville, governor of Champagne.

of a man who asked quarter; for which conduct, says he, he had very good reason, as after having made his utmost efforts, after having exhausted his small territory by levies on all sides, he could raise no more than fifteen hundred raw men, none of whom had ever seen an engagement, with a few French and German foot soldiers, and only twenty-five Swiss, all the rest of his troops being in a most wretched condition, except some Flemings from Frankendal and the neighbouring country. Therefore, if in this extremity the dutchess of Bouillon had not yet left Sedan, there was no reason to doubt but that her husband had resolved to accept of any conditions whatever, so that the treaty might be looked upon as in a manner concluded, it being only to save his character from the reproach of so hasty a capitulation, that the duke had demanded, as a favour, a respite till the next morning.

ALL was accordingly concluded in this second conference. Villeroi was, in appearance, very eager to acquaint me with the news, since he wrote to me immediately after, as he had done the day before: however, he took care to conceal part of what had passed, as we shall soon see. In this second letter, however, he promised to send me the treaty itself, as soon as it was fairly transcribed and signed, which was to be done the next morning: but in the mean time he specified the principal articles; the treaty was intitled "Articles of the protection of Sedan, and Roucourt," and dated April the 2d, 1606, and to remain in force four years. By this treaty, the duke of Bouillon consented that the king should place a governor in the castle, with a company of fifty men; and that the inhabitants of Sedan should take the oath of fidelity to the king, which Bouillon also engaged to do himself. Villeroi filled up the rest of his letter with the praises which he said his majesty publicly bestowed on my vigilance, and the advice I had given

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on this occasion ; yet surely this was unnecessary, for all my endeavours and all my counsels produced nothing : therefore, I was not to be dazzled by Villeroi's flattery, nor could I alter my opinion of his proceedings.

I HAD no reason to doubt, that his majesty sincerely desired to give me some part in the conclusion of this affair, after the assurances I had received from him, and the letters he wrote to me for no other purpose but to press me to come, that nothing might be done without me. I do not pretend to know Villeroi's reasons for thinking so differently from his majesty in this respect ; perhaps he was afraid I should deprive him of the honour of this treaty, or probably he thought Bouillon might, by my interposition, obtain terms more advantageous ; in which case, our friendship would unite us against his policy, which was to keep the most considerable protestants at variance with each other. This, however, was certain, that he pressed the conclusion of the affair so much the more eagerly, as his majesty appeared solicitous for my being present, and repeated his invitations to me to come ; and to effect this purpose, did not scruple to make use of a little artifice. Henry having given him the letters before-mentioned to be dispatched to me, he committed them to the care of a servant, whom he ordered to ride slowly to Amiens, Saint Quintin, and Rheims, that I might not receive them till I had got another letter from his majesty, which he wrote to me eight days afterwards, and was brought to me by a courier sent expressly with it. My astonishment may be easily imagined, when by these last dispatches, I found that his majesty was under great uneasiness on my account, fearing that I was indisposed, since he had received no answers to letters he had wrote to me eight days before, which was the cause that every thing had been concluded without me. In this letter, which was dated
Saturday,

Saturday, April the 1st, Henry desired me to delay no longer, but leave my heavy baggage at Chalons, and meet him on Monday following at Cazine, whither he went to see the queen.

HAVING received these two letters both in one day, I saw I had not a moment to lose, if I would meet his majesty at the place appointed. I found, by the reception he gave me, that, after a little reflexion, he would easily pardon the fault Villeroi had committed with regard to me*. This prince treated

* De Thou, in the account he gives of this expedition of Sedan, b. cxxxvi. shews but a small degree of inclination to the duke of Sully, but a great one to the duke of Bouillon. He would persuade us, that Henry IV. having been convinced, during this journey, that M. de Sully persecuted the marechal de Bouillon only from a personal enmity to him, he was glad to take the opportunity his absence afforded, to determine this affair by a treaty, because in reality his connexions with messieurs de Biron and d'Auvergne, had not extended to any thing criminal. The evidence of the Merc. Franç. of almost all the historians, and of the author of the Apology for the duke of Bouillon himself, who, on the contrary, speaks more favourably on this occasion of the duke of Sully, than of the duke of Bouillon; and the other proofs interspersed through these Memoirs, incontestably evince, according to my judgment, the invalidity of what M. de Thou here asserts, of the opinion Henry IV. formed of the duke of Bouillon's sentiments and disposition. A quite different degree of credit is due to facts established on the evidence of original letters and discourses, as the greatest part of those produced in the duke of Sully's Memoirs, and the present in particular, are, than to such as are founded only on the testimony of public report: and, if I am not mistaken, it would not be difficult to convince M. de Thou, that he is inconsistent with himself in what he says on this subject.

It may be asked, what was it then that occasioned that precipitation in concluding the treaty, that appearance of favour which is manifest in it, that mystery which M. de Sully himself insinuates the king made of it with respect to him? I subscribe to the reasons Marsolier gives: first, that Henry IV. had no mind to ruin the duke of Bouillon, but only to make him sensible of the weight of his power, to contain him within the bounds of his duty for the future; secondly, that the duke of Bouillon, seeing the instrument of his association with messieurs de Biron and d'Auvergne in the hands of M. de Villeroi, thought it high time to make his submission to the king in earnest, in order to obtain his pardon, which his haughtiness prevented him from asking, so long as he could flatter himself his machinations were concealed: thirdly, that on due reflection, Henry IV. concluded the duke of Bouillon would be able to do him less mischief at Sedan than any where else; and that for this reason he

was

treated me with more than usual kindness and respect, supposing perhaps, that I resented his not waiting for me. "You are welcome, said he to me aloud, I have provided a supper and a bed for you; you shall have good accommodations." "Can you guess," said he afterwards in a low voice, and leaning towards me, "why I have made such haste; it was because I knew that, as soon as you arrived, you would be for viewing every thing, and throwing yourself in to the most dangerous places, so that I was apprehensive of some accident happening to you; and I would rather Sedan was never taken, than hazard such a misfortune, for I have need of you for affairs of much more consequence."

AFTER this, any reflections I should make upon this agreement, and the whole conduct of the affair, might possibly not be free from partiality; all I shall say therefore, is, that the duke of Bouillon had reason to think himself very happy that he got off at so easy a rate, after having obliged his majesty to set an army on foot, and bring a train of artillery of fifty pieces of cannon, within fifteen or twenty paces of Sedan, while he himself advanced almost to its very walls. All this Henry acknowledged, and sometimes he was greatly enraged at the duke's conduct; but his natural clemency prevailed. He made his entry into Sedan on the 2d of April, and left there fifty men, with Nétancourt at their head. Bouillon came afterwards to pay homage to his majesty, who sent for me to be present at this cere-

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mony,

was so far from driving him from thence, that he sent him back thither in a month's time afterwards. As to M. de Villeroi, whose behaviour on this occasion the author condemns, he certainly acted only in obedience to the king's orders, and in conformity to his intention; and he is therefore greatly commended on account of this negotiation, in the 8477 volume of the royal MSS. See the historians, and especially the Merc. Franç. anno 1606. No writer has given so minute a relation of this fact, as is contained in these Mémoires.

mony, which was performed in the king's chamber so early in the morning, that the duke found his majesty still in bed*.

I VISITED the town the next day, where, instead of those powerful supplies which were to come from all parts of Christendom to the duke's assistance, three hundred miserable Lansquenets, and twenty-five Swiss, were all the foreign troops I saw there: all the rest were in proportion, the cannon in very bad order, with four or five unskilful gunners to attend them, no place likewise fit to receive them, no fascines, gabions, pick-axes, or planks; in a word, none of the usual preparations for a siege. It was not possible for me to restrain myself from expressing my astonishment to the duke of Bouillon, who was present at the survey, and who, not being pleased either with my observations, or the freedom of them, began a debate, which he supported with more heat than was necessary. But however ingenious his vanity might be, the inequality of the two parties were so palpable, that he passed among our neighbours, to have prevented his total ruin by an implicit submission. Cardinal Du-Perron sent me a letter of congratulation from Rome, in which he says, quoting an ancient author, wars ought to be carried on with vigour and rapidity, for by that means we save both time and expence; those conquests which are made by the terror of arms, are more expeditious and extend farther, than those which are gained by arms themselves. The pope spoke publicly of this expedition in very advantageous terms; and I was convinced that, in all other countries, people thought of it in the same manner as they did at Rome. This gave me some consolation, that the reputation of our arms did not suffer.

I PROPOSED likewise to indemnify ourselves in
some

* Henry IV. obligingly answered him, that it was not so much his city of Sedan which tempted him, as the good services he expected from him personally. MSS. *ibid.*

some measure for the expences of this armament, by reducing to his majesty's subjection the fortress of the earldom of Saint-Paul. And here it is necessary to remember what I have already said concerning the acquisition of this earldom in 1604, that when Gouillauire came from the count of Soissons to propose this bargain to the king, his majesty intrusted the management of this affair, in my absence, to messieurs Bellievre, Villeroi, Sillery, and Maiffes; and that upon the difficulties which I represented to this prince would arise in the affair, he caused a contract to be drawn up, in the name of a third person, until the king, by making himself master of those forts, they should be declared his by right of conquest.

WHEN Henry proposed to me to pay the troops and disband them, "How! sire, replied I, disband them, what then will become of your contract for the earldom of Saint-Paul? Have you forgot the resolution you made when it was passed? Since you have been at the expence of raising an army, what now remains but to employ it that way?" I represented to his majesty, that it would be the work of fifteen days only. The Spaniards had not the least expectation of such an attempt, and when it did happen could have no just cause to complain, since the king only made use of that power granted by treaties to the earls of Saint-Paul, to chuse between France and Spain, which should be declared to the council of Madrid at the same time that we set forward. "I am convinced," said Henry, after having heard me attentively, "that you are in the right, but it requires some deliberation before we engage in this affair; and I should chuse to mention it to the principal persons here with me, and to my ordinary council." I know not with whom his majesty consulted, or what advice was given him, but two days afterwards this prince took me aside, and endeavoured to persuade me, that at present it was best to let

this affair sleep. I confess, when I quitted the king, I could not help saying, "Ah! de-par Dieu!—I find we
 "are going to put our swords in the scabbards: with
 "so fine an army, and so favourable an opportunity of
 "employing it, we are preparing to disband our men." I was not able to alter the king's resolution: the troops were paid and disbanded, and I sent back the artillery to Paris.

THE king having a desire to enter this city with a discharge of all the ordnance, La-Varenne, by his order, came to acquaint me with it. "What does the
 "king mean, monsieur La-Varenne," cried I, surprised at the proposal, "we have not drawn our swords, nor
 "fired one single volley of cannon, and shall we play
 "the victors? we who in two respects are the van-
 "quished, for we have bought with too great credulity,
 "what the king ought only hold by his own courage,
 "and afterwards have been afraid to publish our own
 "acquisition. I was always apprehensive that things
 "would be managed thus; tell the king that all the
 "world thinks as I do on this occasion, and would laugh
 "at us if we fired the cannon." I probably carried my freedom a little too far, but the grief I felt at what had happened was the cause of it. The king could not hear this answer without great emotion; he concealed it from no one but myself. Praslin, and afterwards Béthune, came back immediately, to tell me from him, with great gentleness, that there was nothing unreasonable in what his majesty required of me; and I, in my turn, thought I was able to convince them of the contrary. Henry began now to be extremely enraged with me, gave my resistance very harsh names, and sent me an absolute command to obey him: which I did with such expedition, and with so great a noise of the artillery, that he was appeased immediately, and sent for me to come and embrace him †. Bouillon was in the

† The Journal of Henry IV. makes no mention of this dispute, but,

the king's train when he made his entry ; he would certainly have injured his majesty greatly to have feared from him any appearance of contempt. The king resumed his former familiarity with him ; and if there was any change in his behaviour, it was only to greater kindness and respect.

ABOUT this time broke out the famous quarrel between pope Paul V. and the Venetians ; the foundation of it had been laid long before, on occasion of some pretended ecclesiastical rights which the holy father at a very unseasonable time undertook to maintain against this republic ; who, on their side, opposed them by very firm decrees *. Fresné-Canage, our ambassador at

but, on the contrary, says, that M. de Rosny was at the king's side, conversing with him, and shewing him some beautiful ladies : that the marshal de Bouillon was very plainly dressed and mounted, and his look very sorrowful. A letter wrote by the king to the princess of Orange on the surrender of Sedan, is set forth in this Journal in these words : " Cousin, I may say as Cæsar did, *Veni, vidi, vici* : or as the song does : " *Three days my love will last, and in three days 'tis past* : so much was I " in love with Sedan. You are now able to judge whether I was in the " right or not ; and whether I did not know the condition of that place " better than those who wanted to make me believe I should not be able " to take it in less than three years, &c." M. de Thou is also mistaken, when he says, *ibid.* that the duke of Bouillon did not arrive till three days after. See the *Merc. Franç.* where a description of his majesty's entry into Paris is given.

* By one of the decrees, of the 10th of January, 1603, it is forbidden to build any church without leave from the government ; and by a second, of the 26th of March, 1605, ecclesiastics, and persons holding in mortmain, are restrained from making any acquisition without special authority. I shall not enter into a discussion of these points of law, there being an infinity of treatises wrote at that time on each side of the question ; the chief are those which came from the pen of cardinal Baronius, in favour of the pope ; and of friar Paul Sarpi, a monk of the order of the Servites, on behalf of the Venetians. All these may be seen in M. de Thou, the *Merc. Franç.* Matthieu. an. 1606. and other historians ; and in particular in the writings on this famous dispute. The je-suits, the capuchins, and a small number of other monks, were all that paid any obedience to the interdiction, and thereby got themselves drove out of the Venetian territories : the excommunication was treated with contempt by all the other orders in the republic, and divine service continued to be performed as before. It is reported, that the vicar-general to the bishop of Padua, saying to the governor, that he would act on this occasion.

at Venice, had given me notice of it in the month of October. These decrees, joined to the imprisonment of the two ecclesiastics by an arret of the senate, the interdict fulminated by the pope upon their refusal to revoke those decrees, and to do him justice with regard to their imprisonment; and lastly, the protestation lately made by the republic against this excommunication, had brought matters to extremity on both sides.

To speak candidly my sentiments of the affair, I thought the proceedings of both parties much the same, equally violent and imprudent. I have ever had a real respect for Paul V. and have professed to honour him greatly; nor do I think what I am going to say has any thing in it contrary to these sentiments. We live not now in those times when the popes exercised that spiritual authority from which they thought, and with reason, their greatest advantages were derived, and exercised it in such a manner, as gave them, in reality, a sovereign power over the princes and states in Christendom. At present, their usurpation of temporal authority is clearly known and distinguished, and is strongly contested with them. I may almost venture to say, that they are disabled with regard to their spiritual power: at least it is certain, that the protestants deprived them of two-thirds of it at once; an example so recent, and so easy to imitate, that it was certainly very injudicious in the Roman court, to expose the republic of Venice to such a temptation, surrounded as it is by provinces who have shook off the yoke of the apostolical see, and who would receive them with open arms as soon as they had done the like: these I speak of were the Lutherans, the protestants of Germany, Switzerland, Bohemia, Hungary, Austria, and Transylvania; to whom may be added, the schismatic
Greeks

occasion as the Holy Ghost should inspire him; the governor made answer, that the Holy Ghost had already inspired the council of ten, to order all those to be hanged who should refuse to obey the order of the senate.

Greeks and Turks. Rome ought to reflect upon the ravage made in her empire, by three or four monks only; and that this misfortune happened through the ill-timed pride of Leo X. and Clement VII. too like what Paul V. discovered in the present conjuncture.

THE Venetians, it is probable, run greater risks than the pope, by making him their enemy. All these discussions, which at first the contending parties pretended to regulate and guide by the judgment or award of conscience, terminate, sooner or later, in being supported by arms; when, as it always happens, arguments, far from being relished, give rise to proceedings more and more violent. And there was nothing which this republic ought so carefully to avoid as war, since she may be convinced, that if the emperor and the king of Spain do not prosecute their claims upon her dominions, which they scarce ever conceal, it is certainly because they have not pretences in readiness, or want opportunities. It is the part of the Venetian policy, therefore, to aim continually at maintaining the republic and all Italy in the state they are at present: for them no change can be advantageous, and any revolution fatal. I have often examined this matter in my conversations with the cardinals de Joyeuse and Du-Perron, and laboured with more candor than is generally shewn by a zealous Huguenot, to find out means to prevent the new religion from getting a footing either in Italy or Spain, provided that they, on their side, would promise, that the pope, who was the head of Italy, should spare himself the trouble of taking any interest in that part of Europe with which he had no connexion; for it has been always my opinion, that the true system of politics, that which may give and preserve tranquillity to Europe, depends upon fixing her in this equilibrium*.

COULD

* It is easy to distinguish in this discourse, as well as in all others where

COULD they have thought in this manner at Rome and at Venice, every one there would have conspired to stifle the present quarrel in its birth; and for this a seasonable and mild discussion had been sufficient: those affairs in appearance the most intricate and perplexed, are still capable of being happily tempered by proper management, and this more than many others: we ought to consider them without any regard to the consequences, with which it is wrong to alarm one's self, for we ought never to be alarmed with what is merely possible; but they had designedly increased the difficulties, by proposing things which always rendered the prudence of the ablest mediators ineffectual. The malicious insinuations of those persons who sought to take advantage of this disunion, had also some share in heightening it. If there is a person in the world, who, amidst the emotions of anger is capable of listening to the voice of reason, I should advise him then to distrust the discourse of those persons who, when thus agitated, offer to assist his vengeance: it is on such an occasion, that hatred and envy lay their most dangerous snares.

CANAYE*, when he consulted me upon what, as ambassador from France, it was fit for him to do, in the present posture of affairs, thought it necessary, for my better information, to send me a long memorial of the grievances complained of, and arguments used by both parties. I made no great use of this paper; for to examine their reasons, and pronounce upon each, would not have been serving them effectually: I therefore told Canaye plainly in my answer, that, without having any regard to the foundation of the quarrel, the Venetians had no other part to take but to refer themselves

where matters of religion come in question, how M. de Sully's belief induces him to speak with too much vehemence, and carries him beyond the bounds of truth. I shall not make any further observation on it, as I apprehend the reader must before this time be accustomed to it, and not affected by it.

* Philip Canaye, lord of Fresny.

themselves to arbitrators, who might perform the office of a common friend to both, by pacifying their resentment, not judging with rigour. I named the king of France, as being, in my opinion, the only one who was likely to produce this effect; and recommended to them to make use of the nuncio Barberini, whose wisdom and integrity I was well assured of, to make a report of all to his majesty. They followed my advice, but not till passion had asserted its usual dominion. However, during the rest of the year, it was confined to writings, wherein invective was carried to great excess; but happily, the contending parties were the two powers in Europe who were slowest in declaring war, which was what each relied on. We shall see in the following year the event of this quarrel.

IT was of some use to the nuncio Barberini to obtain for him a cardinal's hat, which the pope sent him upon making a promotion of cardinals, out of the usual order of time. His majesty, to whom he was chiefly obliged for this dignity, congratulated him upon it. Barberini often declared, that he had a good friend about the king in me; cardinal Du-Perron thought likewise, that my interest had been of some use to him, with regard to the archbishopric of Sens, and the post of great almoner; both which were bestowed upon him by his majesty: he made his acknowledgments to me for this service, and intreated me to procure him, during his absence, the enjoyment of all the privileges of his office.

THE citizens of Metz received a service of still greater importance from me, on occasion of the dispute they had about that time with the jesuits; these fathers had two years before made an attempt to procure a settlement in Metz, the inhabitants of which avoided the blow by an application to his majesty, which I supported. The jesuits returning to the charge, I again encouraged the people, send-

ing them an account by Saint-Germain and Des-Bordes, and afterwards by La-Nouë, of the king's opinion of the matter. But at the beginning of this year their fears were again awakened, by the jesuits raising new batteries stronger than before, obliging the clergy, and all the catholic burghers, to unite with them; they had likewise secured the duke of Epernon's vote, who was governor of Metz, and arrived there on the 15th of April, to put the last hand to the work; at least this was what the people apprehended, and that the governor acted in this affair only by the king's orders. Alarmed at his arrival, they sent me a letter the next day, which was followed by another, dated April 25, and delivered to me by the sieur Braconnier, who was strictly charged to urge all the reasons that had induced me to undertake their defence, which they were afraid I should forget: they likewise deputed two of their countrymen, one after the other, to court, to attend this affair; not, said those protestants, that they were apprehensive the jesuits would turn them from their faith, but because they were persuaded the society, by its intrigues, would cause some revolution at Metz; the consequences of which, in a city so lately re-united to the crown, might be fatal.

It was by this motive, that I endeavoured to gain over his majesty, who likewise knew the importance of this city to his great designs. I filled the inhabitants with joy when I sent them word by their last deputy, that the king had granted their request, and would suffer no innovation to be made in their city; which I assured them of, in the king's name. They made me greater acknowledgments in a third letter, dated the 10th of July; but I could perceive they were not quite freed from their fears, their adversaries boasting, they said, that it was in their power to alter the king's determination.

In effect, the jesuits received every day such striking

ing proofs of the king's favour and protection ; as might well authorize the fears of the people of Metz : this very year Henry made them a present of one hundred thousand crowns for their college of La-Flèche alone, and condescended to regulate the disposal of it himself, in the following manner : one hundred and sixty thousand livres for building the college, twenty-one thousand for the purchase of the ground, seventy-five thousand in lieu of church-lands, which were seized upon, in order to erect a perpetual revenue for this house ; for as these lands were possessed by persons who were not ecclesiastics, it was allowable to compel them to sell, (and that step was here actually taken) a pecuniary equivalent being granted them ; twelve thousand for a dwelling-house for the fathers, three thousand to purchase books for them, as much for the decorations of their church, six thousand for their subsistence for the present year (for Henry forgot nothing) and fifteen thousand, which had been lent them by Varenne after they came to La-Flèche, which this prince kept an account of. The paper was dated October 16, and signed by the king.

BUT here follows another much more extraordinary. A counsellor of parliament, named Gillot †, had in the year 1603 lent a book to father Cotton, which he could not get again, though he had several times asked the father for it ; at length he sent a servant to demand it, with orders not to leave him till it was returned : the counsellor getting his book by these means, happened, in opening it, to find a sheet of paper between the leaves, which had apparently been forgot by the jesuit, and was written all over, as he supposed, with his own hand ; this paper seemed to him to be worth my notice ; he brought it to me, and after obliging me to promise

† James Gillot, counsellor-clerk in the great chamber of the parliament of Paris.

promise that I would not name him in the affair, he left the paper in my hands, to make what use of it I thought proper. After convincing myself that it was the hand-writing of father Cotton, which it was easy to do, with the assistance of some letters he knew I had received from him, we accordingly compared them, and found them exactly the same: the following is a translation of it, for it was in Latin, and contained a long list of questions which the jesuit designed to ask the devil, when he exorcised a certain person who was possessed, and who made much noise at that time *: the reader will find questions of every kind in it, those merely of curiosity, some trifling, and even ridiculous, and others upon subjects which it is not fit for me to examine into: the writing begins thus.

“ By the merits of Saint Peter and Saint Paul,
 “ apostles; of Saint Prisca, the virgin martyr; of
 “ Saint

* Her name was Adriana de Fresne: she was born in the village of Gerbigny, near Amiens; afterwards she settled at Paris, in Saint Anthony's street: she drew to the convent of Saint Victor, where she was exorcised, almost as great a concourse of people, as Martha Brosnier had done to Saint Genevieve. De Thou, who did not suffer this piece of history to pass unnoticed, speaking of father Cotton as one of her principal exorcists, according to his custom, treats that father's curiosity on this occasion with great severity: he further observes, that Henry IV. earnestly desired the duke of Sully to prevent this writing from becoming public; and that the contrary, either through imprudence, or by some other means, having happened, he pretended to treat the thing as a matter of no moment before his court; although inwardly he was much displeased with father Cotton. De Thou, book cxxxii.

Mention is also made of this writing of father Cotton by L'Etoile's Journal; “ which became, says he, the ordinary subject of conversation “ in all company.” The Author of father Cotton's life, after having given a detail of every thing in the history of Adriana de Fresne which has any relation to him, book ii. p. 90. thus concludes: “ It appeared “ father Cotton had never spoken to the person who was charged with “ having published the writing; he was a counsellor of the parliament, “ and it was said that he found it in a book which father Cotton had borrowed of him: besides, the persons skilled in the comparison of hands, “ to whom this paper, which was pretended to be the original of all the “ rest, was shewn, and which was falsely asserted to be signed with father Cotton's own hand, attested, after having compared it with some “ of his letters, that it had never been wrote by him.”

“ Saint Moses and Ammon, martyred soldiers ; of
 “ Saint Antenogenus, martyr and theologian ; of Saint
 “ Volusien, bishop of Tours ; of Saint Leobard the
 “ monk, and of Saint Liberata the virgin.”

AFTER this follow the questions which the exorcist designs to ask the demon ; they are without method or connexion, the author having, no doubt, just thrown them on paper as they occurred to his mind ; and some are expressed in such a manner, as makes it impossible to guess what he would be at.

“ ALL that God permits me to know (observe that
 “ it is father Cotton that speaks) with regard to the
 “ king and queen ; with regard to those who live at
 “ court ; with regard to public and private admonitions ;
 “ with regard to the news of life, and the right way ;
 “ with regard to those who converse with princes ; with
 “ regard to Laval, divine service, the knowledge of the
 “ Greek and Hebrew tongues, vows, the ceremonies of
 “ consecration, and cases of conscience, the conversion of
 “ souls, and canonization : and if it may be permitted
 “ me to insist farther, with regard to the war against the
 “ Spaniards and heretics, the voyage to New France, and
 “ all the coasts opposite to America ; and with regard to
 “ the means I ought to use, in order to persuade men with
 “ efficacy, so as to induce them to relinquish their
 “ sins. To know from the devil what danger it may
 “ be in my power to prevent, and that he would inform
 “ me what If the person possessed hath been
 “ baptized ; if she be a religious ; if any foul play hath
 “ been meditated, by the malice of Clarençal, against
 “ Mary de Valence §, or against the soul of La-Faye.
 “ To ask the demon when Clarençal will go from
 “ home, the time, and the means, and if it will be
 “ at night ; if I have any concealed danger to apprehend ;
 “ if languages are inspired from God ; by what means
 “ Chamieres-Ferrier by what
 “ means,

“ means, or by reading what books, we may render
 “ sermons most useful ; what is my greatest danger ;
 “ what restitution his majesty is obliged to ; what
 “ he (the demon) would have me say to dame Acha-
 “ ria †, Du-Jardin, and the brothers and sisters ; what
 “ was the apparition that was seen in Languedoc ;
 “ if it be convenient that mother Pasitheia ‖ should
 “ come, and sister Anne de Saint Bartholomew go
 “ to Pont-a-Mousson ; and if he would inform me
 “ what I ought to know, with regard to the king
 “ and M. de Rosny ; what hopes may be formed of
 “ his conversion ; what protestants at court are most
 “ easily converted ; if no danger may befall him who
 “ is protected by demons ; if I am not threatened
 “ on that occasion myself ; what hinders the founda-
 “ tion of the college at Poitiers ; what are the duties
 “ of a niece ; what passage of scripture is most clear
 “ and most efficacious to prove purgatory, the invo-
 “ cation of saints, and the power of the pope ; where
 “ the animals drank in Noah’s ark ; what sons of
 “ God loved the daughters of men ; if the serpent
 “ walked on feet before Adam’s fall ; how long
 “ our fathers had been in heaven in the terrestrial
 “ paradise ; what sort of spirits stand before the
 “ throne of God ; if there is a king of the arch-
 “ angels ; what ought to be done to establish a solid
 “ peace with Spain ; if God will be pleased to in-
 “ form me when the heresy of Calvin will be extinct ;
 “ of my father and his condition ; of my brothers
 “ John and Anthony ; how many passages of faith
 “ have been corrupted by heretics ; of the Geneva
 “ plagiarist ; of the voyage of the father general in
 “ Spain ; of the brief, and father general, with re-
 “ gard to Baqueville, and the young man who lives
 “ near Notre-Dame ; when animals first migrated
 “ into the islands ; and when the islands were first
 “ inhabited

† Another devotee of father Cotton’s.

‖ A nun, who will be mentioned again in these Memoirs.

“ inhabited by men ; where is the terrestrial paradise ;
 “ how the king and queen of England, and all the
 “ English nation, may be most easily converted ; how
 “ to conquer the Turk, and make converts of infi-
 “ dels ; what part of the angels fell ; what adoration
 “ the cherubims pay to the Supreme Being, and what
 “ are his ideas of it ; how I may correct my errors of
 “ writing, printing, and preaching ; what embarrasses
 “ the demon and his companions in the ceremony of
 “ exorcising ; what hath so often occasioned the pre-
 “ servation of Geneva ; what he knows touching the
 “ king’s health ; what may unite the grandees of the
 “ realm with him ; how one may assist the sieur de
 “ Verdun, and what his motives of action are ; on the
 “ hostage towns ; on Lefdiguieres and his conver-
 “ sion ; on the honour of my relics ; on the
 “ letters written to madame de Clarençal ; to be more
 “ than commonly particular with regard to that lady ;
 “ what obstructs the college of Amiens and Tours ;
 “ of the duration of heresy.”

THE king, when he returned from Sedan, staid a few days at Paris, and towards the end of April went to Fontainebleau, from whence he wrote to me, that, by his physicians prescriptions, he was beginning a strict regimen, that was to continue for ten days at least ; upon which account, he deferred for so long the ceremony of the feast of Whitsuntide, and sent orders to his council not to attend him for fifteen days. He permitted me to pass this interval at Sully, provided I sometimes came to visit him. By this remedy, together with perspiration, his health was greatly mended.

THE affairs of greatest importance, in which his majesty was employed at Fontainebleau, were those which related to religion. The clergy of France, assembling at Paris, renewed their solicitations for the publication of the council of Trent†: the public

† In the Merc. François, anno 1606, may be seen the remon-
 strance

lic peace being concerned in this proposal, as well as in some others of the same nature, which it was resolved in the assembly should be made to the king. His majesty opposed them both with his arguments and authority, and treated the protestants in the same manner, who, in imitation of the clergy, seemed disposed to abuse their privileges. Some provinces wrote to the deputies-general at court, to solicit the grant of a petition they sent the king for holding a national synod, while at the same time in other provinces, they laboured to procure particular assemblies to be held, wherein it was the custom to appoint the deputies of the synod, and to draw up instructions upon the affairs which were to be treated there. Henry had sent me orders by Villeroi on the 22d of March, to take proper measures on this occasion, in conjunction with my son, to whom he allowed me to give a share of almost all my business; and that I should afterwards confer with Servian the deputy from Dauphiné. He wrote to me himself from Fontainebleau, desiring that I would send for the deputies-general, and oblige them to declare what were the intentions of the protestant body, and to render their project ineffectual. I made him entirely easy on this head, by assuring him that, if I could not hinder the synod from being convoked †, I would

at

France which the clergy got Jerome de Villars, archbishop of Vienne, to make to his majesty, with this answer to it by Henry IV. "You have mentioned a council to me, I desire one may be called; but, as you rightly observe, the considerations of this world frequently clash with those of heaven: nevertheless, I shall always be ready to support the good of the church, and the service of God, with the hazard of my blood and life. As to simony, and the holding benefices in trust for others, let those who are guilty, by their own reformation, set others an example to do the like. In the elections you see my manner of proceeding; I am proud of the footing on which I have placed them, which is greatly different from what it was, &c." The king, notwithstanding, in consequence of their complaints, issued two edicts, prescribing many ecclesiastical regulations, which were confirmed, the one in 1608, the other in 1609. See also M. De Thou, book cxxiv.

† In the royal MSS. see the original of a letter from M. de Sully, dated.

at least contrive to have so many faithful servants of his there, as should render them master of all the debates. It appeared necessary likewise to use this precaution in the particular assembly of Dauphiné; and to satisfy the president Parquet that he might not suffer his office, which he was desirous of resigning, to be filled by any of the factious party, I sent Bullion into Dauphiné, and Esperian into Guienne, with proper instructions how to act.

DES-AGEAUX dying this year, his post of king's lieutenant of Saint-John-d'Angely, was immediately solicited for by several persons, and among others by Beaulieu and La-Roche-beaucourt; the former had had a brevet for it before Des-Ageaux, but the duke of Epemon, Parabere, and all the burghers of Saint-John, uniting in favour of La-Roche-beaucourt, his majesty ordered me to send for him, and to give him all the necessary instructions for the faithful execution of this office, which he had determined to entrust to him. I took care not to speak for the duke of Rohan, Soubise † and he at that time not standing well in his majesty's opinion, on account of some steps taken by them, which others perhaps would tax only with imprudence, but I, who on such occasions am not accustomed to manage my terms, shall not scruple to call disobedient. Rohan applied to me to reinstate him in his majesty's favour, as soon as he should have returned to Paris, towards the close of the year. The king, to whom I wrote, had the goodness to give me hopes that he would pardon the duke, and even furnished me with the means of improving this pardon, by bringing the

dated the 20th of May 1606, directed to the protestants of the province of Burgundy, by which he endeavours to dissuade them from this notion of holding a synod at Rochelle.

† Benjamin de Rohan-Soubise, brother of the duke of Rohan, both of them sons of René duke of Rohan, and grandsons of John de Parthenay-Soubise. The duke of Soubise was one of the principal leaders of the calvinistical party in France, during the religious wars in the following reign.

the criminal to him, after having first instructed him by my son, either at his own or some other house, in all that he was to do to render his sovereign favourable to him, provided that Rohan did not put off till then a public acknowledgment of his fault, and sorrow for having committed it. As to the manner in which he should treat him, and how he should for the future expect him to act with the protestants, he deferred explaining himself till he came to Paris. With regard to Soubise, as he had demanded the king's permission before he went to Flanders, his majesty consented that he should wait for him at Paris, or come to him at Fontainebleau.

AT La-Rochelle new quarrels arose between the protestants, and the Roman catholic clergy of that city, upon the extent and exercise of those privileges, which the latter were to enjoy there. Both parties made reciprocal complaints of each other; the ecclesiastics, that their adversaries often attempted to do themselves justice by force of arms, which was always forbidden; the protestants, that the clergy constantly suppressed the arrets of council, to authorise their encroachments; and both desired a decisive arret. The king, conceiving that an arret would increase their animosity, insisted on my undertaking the office of mediator upon this occasion. I began by shewing them separately, what were their real interests; and, after I had assured myself of their obedience, dictated to them the following articles of accommodation, which will explain the causes of their disputes.

THAT the protestants should not prohibit the ecclesiastics from visiting the hospitals and prisons; or from hearing confessions, provided all this was done without any pomp, especially that of carrying the sacrament to those places: that the clergy had no right to assist at burials and public ceremonies, to carry the cross there, or attend criminals to the place of punishment: that the ecclesiastics should receive
no

no bad treatment either in word or deed, when they passed through the streets in the habit of their order : that the protestants should not make any opposition to the building of their church there ; nor to the commissioners appointed by them to mark out the place, provided this place was neither inconvenient, nor suspected by the city ; in either of which cases they should assign them another, or leave this point to be decided by the king and his council. I regulated likewise some other articles relating to the police : that the catholics should be contented with the share they had in the public posts and offices to which they should be raised by a plurality of votes, and the usual methods ; but with respect to mechanic trades and corporations, as there was no reason why they should be excluded from them, the protestants, by driving away their youth from the shops of the catholics, had set an example of violence to those cities where the catholic party was the strongest.

In the mean time, at Paris, great preparations were making for the ceremony of the baptism of the Dauphin, and the two princesses of France †. The dutchess of Mantua, who was to have the principal part in this solemnity, set out from Italy with a train of two hundred horse, and two hundred and fifty attendants. She arrived at Nancy on the beginning of June, and from thence her train and those belonging to the duke of Lorraine, sent to know of his majesty if, at the end of eight days, which she proposed to stay at Nancy, she might continue her journey. This requiring some consideration, Henry wrote to me, for I was then at Sully, to come to Paris on the fourth or fifth of June ; adding, that he would come thither himself the latter end of May, and till I arrived make some short excursions to Saint-Germain to see his children, and likewise that he thought it necessary to send some person to Nancy with his orders.

† Eleonora de Medicis, eldest daughter of Francis de Medicis, grand duke of Tuscany, and wife of Vincent de Gonzague duke of Mantua.

ders. A kind of debate arose upon the manner in which the dutchess of Mantua should be received, which was at length decided in the queen's favour, who alledged, that this princess coming into France only to oblige the king, and do honour to an extraordinary ceremony, too great respect could not be paid her. Accordingly nothing was omitted; she had the precedence not only of all foreign princes, but also of the princes of the blood, at which the latter were so disgusted, that they refused to assist at any ceremony where she was present, alledging, that it was a very extraordinary thing for princes of the most august house in Europe, to be preceded by a duke of late date, descended from a citizen of Mantua, who, after killing Bonnacolsy his lord, procured the administration of Mantua to be confided to him, and afterwards usurped the sovereignty of it. But notwithstanding all that could be urged, the king would not make the smallest concession on this point, considering only in the dutchess of Mantua, the title of an ally to the royal family, and eldest sister of the queen.

THE duke of Bouillon sought to take some advantage of this example, but he was not regarded; he had been appointed to carry the regalia in the ceremony, and would have taken place of the dukes, claiming this privilege as duke of Bouillon and prince of Sedan, and appealing to the examples of some of the princes of Sedan to whom he had succeeded. He was told, in answer to these pretensions, that the difference between them and him was, that they were really descended from sovereign princes, a quality, which in effect gave them the first rank, while he was only descended from a private gentleman †.

ON the 20th of July, the dutchess of Mantua arrived at Villers-Coterets, where she found the king, who waited

† To shew how little reason the duke of Sully has to speak in this manner of a house so illustrious as that of Bouillon, we need only have recourse to the genealogists in general,

waited for her. From thence they were to go by Monceaux to Paris, where I was employed in causing scaffolds to be built in the church of Notre-Dame, in the palace, and in the square of the manufactures, and in making all the other preparations, when we were informed that a contagious disease had broke out in that vast city †; for which reason the king, after consulting the dutchefs, resolved that the ceremony of the baptisms should be performed at Fontainebleau. The tournaments and all the shews and diversions, which were to have been exhibited at Paris, were set aside by this new plan, which took in only the usual expences for the baptism of the children of France, and the robes of his majesty and the royal family. The nuncio waited upon the king at Fontainebleau, as did also queen Margaret. The chapels of the castle being too small for such a ceremony, and that of the monastery unfinished, I proposed that the floor of the latter should be spread and the walls hung with tapestry, or that they should make use of the great saloon ‡ for that purpose.

THE king himself took the trouble to examine the palace of Fleury, and caused it to be prepared for the reception of the dauphin when the ceremony was ended;

† “ The plague, or rather the king’s thriftness, says L’Etoile maliciously, deprived the city of Paris of this honour :” an assertion without any foundation, and contradicted by all other historians.

‡ It was performed in the court called Cour du Donjon, which had been prepared for the purpose. The cardinal de Joyeuse, the pope’s legate, represented Paul V. as god-father, with the dutchefs of Mantua as god-mother to the dauphin. The eldest Madame of France was called Elizabeth, after the name of the archdutchefs her god-mother, wife of the archduke Albert, and grand-daughter of Henry II. represented by madame d’Angouleme without a god-father; and the youngest Madame of France had for god-father the duke of Lorraine in person, and for god-mother the grand dutchefs of Tuscany, whose proxy was prince John de Medicis; she was called Christina. See in the Merc. Fran. anno 1606, and in P. Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. the description of the manner of performing this ceremony, and the magnificence and rejoicings which preceded and followed it. See also vol. 9361 and 9364 of the Royal MSS.

ended; for the contagion in Paris, instead of ceasing, had spread itself into some of the neighbouring places; nor was Fontainebleau entirely free from it. Henry * wrote me word, the latter end of September, that of six persons who had been seized with the distemper, only one had recovered, but that there were no more taken ill. He withdrew the regiment of guards from Melun, where he had been told some families were infected with the distemper. It was about this time, that their majesties, crossing the river of Neuilly in a ferry-boat†, were in danger

* It is observed, in the journal of Henry IV. that no more than usual died in Paris this year, which are therein computed at eight in a day; whence the author concludes, that people give way to a groundless panic.

† "On Friday the 9th of June, says the same journal, as the king and queen were crossing the water in the ferry-boat at Neuilly, on their return from Saint-Germain-en-Laye, the duke of Vendome being with them, they were all three in great danger of being drowned, especially the queen, who was obliged to drink a great deal more than was agreeable to her; and had not one of her footmen and a gentleman called La Châtaigneraie, who caught hold of her hair, desperately thrown themselves into the water to pull her out, she would inevitably have lost her life. This accident cured the king of a violent tooth-ach; and, after having escaped the danger, he diverted himself with it, saying, he had never met with so good a remedy for that disorder before; and that they had eat too much salt meat at dinner, therefore they had a mind to make them drink after it."

This accident happened, according to the Merc. Fran. because as they were going into the boat, which probably had no rail work round it, the two fore-horses, drawing towards one side, fell overboard, and by their weight dragged the coach, in which were the king, the queen, the duke of Vendome, the princess of Conti, and the duke of Montpensier, whom the rain had prevented from alighting with them. "The gentlemen who were on horseback, says the historian, threw themselves into the water, without having time to take off either their cloaths or swords, and hastened towards the place where they had seen the king, who being saved from the danger, notwithstanding all the entreaty that could be made to the contrary, returned into the water to assist in getting out the queen and the duke of Vendome. As soon as the queen had recovered a little breath, she gave a sigh, and asked where the king was. She testified her gratitude to La Châtaigneraie, whom she had observed to be particularly instrumental in saving her, by a present of jewels, and a yearly pension." Anno 1606, De Thou, b. cxxxvi.

ger of being drowned, which was the cause that a bridge was afterwards built there.

I STAYED longer this time at Sully than usual. The king, who was informed that I continued indisposed at Briecompte-robot, wrote to me on the 29th of August, and desired to know the state of my health. This prince made me captain-lieutenant of the company of gendarmes, which was formed in the queen's name, and, at my entreaty, granted a full pardon to La-Saminere. These favours alone gave him a right to require and expect every thing from me: he was much afflicted to find, that the marriage of the son of Noailles with the daughter of Roquelaure, instead of uniting those two families, proved only a source of discord between them. Henry so often and so earnestly pressed me to attempt to reconcile them, that I used my utmost endeavours for that purpose. It is the part of a good prince, to keep all who are about his person united; and of a wise one, to effect this union rather by the interposition of others than by his own.

I WAS likewise well rewarded for my labours in the finances; the contractors giving his majesty an hundred and fifty thousand livres, and the continuance of the lease of the salt for six years, produced him likewise a gratuity of sixty thousand crowns. The king disposed of these two hundred and ten thousand livres in the following manner: eighty thousand livres were set apart for the purchase of Moret, and thirty-six thousand for some occasions of his majesty; the queen had twelve thousand, the duke of Nemours thirty, Versenai eighteen, and myself thirty thousand. I likewise received, during the course of the year, twice this sum in different gratuities.

To execute the edicts, the court of aids sent every year a deputation of counsellors into those districts where the excise was levied upon salt, in order to make a distribution and regulation thereon; to lay
fines

finer upon those whom they found exercising the trade of selling salt without licence. Nor was this the only reason for sending those commissioners: for the lieutenant-general of Blois sent me word, that two of the commissioners that were appointed to levy the excise upon salt, and the other taxes for the different officers of the district, were guilty of many crimes in the discharge of their employment. To which I answered, that he was in the wrong to make a complaint without specifying any particulars; but that, however, I had sent him a regulation with regard to those two points, in order for him to shew to the commissioners; which if they disobeyed, I promised to give him ample satisfaction.

THE import of the regulation was, that the excise upon salt should not for the future be augmented merely upon the districts, but that the particular parishes should be specified in proportion to the number of chimnies, at the same time easing the poorer parishes of an equal sum. With regard to the contraband traders in salt, it was my opinion, that there was a distinction to be made between them; for as those who sold the contraband salt could not be punished too severely, so those who only purchased it from the unlicensed traders, merely because they got it cheaper than the other salt, deserved to be treated with more lenity, especially when they were not taken in the fact.

As to the tax upon the officers of the finances, there are two kinds of it, one upon all the officers in general, into which the king had thought proper to consent that enquiries should be commenced against them; and the other upon the elects in particular, founded upon the re-establishment of their rights, taxations, and exemptions, of several kinds. It was established by the regulation, that the first of these taxes should not be exacted for the future but by mutual consent; so that they who should declare before the officer that gave them notice of it, and afterwards

afterwards before the judge or notary of the place, that they did not intend to take advantage of the king's abolition, should not be compelled to pay it; but in that case they were subject to a criminal prosecution, if they were discovered to have failed in the execution of their trust. The second tax was the same; those elects who liked better to give up the privilege of their office, were discharged from it; but they were obliged to repay whatever they might have received under that title, contrary to the edicts and establishments of the king and the states.

THE commissioners sent to Rouen gave it as their opinion, that it was but reasonable to strike eleven thousand crowns off the account of the taxes of the province of Normandy, because the treasurers of France were to write to me upon this head, and had prepared to send deputies to the king, in order to obtain his approbation of this retrenchment. I answered them, that there was no need for their taking this step, for that I would undertake to persuade his majesty thereto, who was already sufficiently inclined of himself to give them much greater marks of his affection, if the state of his affairs, and the donations he was obliged to make to a number of insatiable courtiers, had permitted him. I further promised, that I would join with them, in order to ease the provinces of a much greater sum than this, from which the poor could obtain but a very small relief. I perceived the reasonableness of the promise I had made them, when I saw a sum of two hundred forty-six thousand three hundred and eighty-one livres joined to the taille of Provence, though it had nothing to do with it.

THIS sum consisted of the following articles: Thirty-three thousand livres for the bridges and causeways of the whole province, which extended both to Rouen and Caën: Thirty-seven thousand five hundred livres for the suppression of the edict on linen-cloth in those

two districts: Twenty-two thousand five hundred livres for the maintenance of the bridge of Rouen, raised by an assessment on those two districts; although on this account several sums were levied upon Paris and other cities: Fifteen thousand livres for the bridges of Mantes and Saint-Cloud: Thirty thousand livres for the canal of communication between the Seine and the Loire: And eight thousand three hundred and eighty-one livres for the grand prevost of the province. I repeat it again, that all these different collections were foreign to the taille. And it was not reasonable, that persons who received no advantage from the public repairs, should be obliged to furnish money for them. For some years past they had considerably augmented these sums, which, in appearance, were designed for that use; but which, in reality, remained in the purses of some individuals, without one penny being returned to the king.

I OBLIGED the receiver of Angoulême to be answerable for some money which he alledged was not now in his hands: had that been true, he was not the less liable to pay it, because it could not have been legally demanded of him without letters patent from the king. Although it might happen that some things escaped me, yet Henry let nothing pass unnoticed; he had been informed that some powder had been embezzled, and he desired me to have those who were guilty of that misdemeanor prosecuted for it; it being absolutely necessary for the security of the stores in the magazines, that such practices should be punished, as being a matter of great consequence with respect to all the magazines in general. He discovered that there was carrying on in my absence a commission for recovery of the sums omitted to be received, and of false seizures: he wrote immediately to the chancellor, that the affair should be superseded, because, as I must certainly have been acquainted with it before I went away, I should have taken

taken some measures about it, if I had thought it would have been brought into question.

His expences this year were as great as usual, I don't mean in presents of jewels suitable to so opulent a prince, for in these Henry did not shew himself a prodigal; as for example, designing to make a present of a jewel to an Italian lady, he was desirous that it should not be mean; but at the same time, that the price might not exceed a thousand or twelve hundred crowns: and he wrote to me to look out for a ring for him, the diamond cut in the form of a heart; or in any other, rather than to be cut table fashion, because the expence would be less and the shew greater: but his personal expences, and those at play especially, always made up a very considerable article. I often received messages, like that of the 11th of December: Henry having lost all his money at play, sent me word in a billet, of which Lomenie's nephew was the bearer, that Morand must bring him that evening two thousand pistoles. I had then excessive large accounts to settle with Parfait, for the extraordinary expences of his household. On the 4th of October, he sent me orders to pay eighty-five thousand five hundred and four livres to mademoiselle Du-Beuil, for which that billet was to serve for a receipt. He had remitted to Zamet, as payment of the remainder of an account he was indebted to him for the year 1602, the tax of two sols, six deniers, upon three bushels of salt; but as this tax did not now subsist, I was obliged to pay Zamet, this year, thirty-seven thousand four hundred and ninety-two livres, to which that old account amounted; and to pay him besides, thirty-four thousand two hundred and twenty livres, which he had since lent to his majesty, or disbursed for him. He made La-Varenne a present of a thousand crowns. Villeroi, by his orders, wrote to my son, that I must pay a debt which this prince owed to Balbani, who

was confined in fort l'Evêque; and that I must endeavour to procure his release.

AMONG other expences, which did Henry more honour, I take in those for repairing the gates of Saint-Bernard, and the Temple, and the fountains before the sessions-house, and the cross du Tiroir. His majesty had written to the Prevot de Marchands, that he desired this work might be finished before Midsummer. The council, I know not for what reason, gave an arret afterwards which rendered this order ineffectual, by applying the money designed for these fountains to paving the streets of Paris, contrary to their first intentions, when, in the contract with the paviours, it was ordered, that the sum necessary for this purpose should be levied upon the inhabitants of the city, according to the number of feet the pavement before each door consisted of; his majesty, however, insisted upon knowing why these works were delayed, and upon what account the council had committed this error.

THIS prince had often desired me to give him general accounts, which should contain a detail of every thing relating to my three principal offices, of superintendant of the finances, grand master of the ordnance, and superintendant of the buildings and fortifications. I took an opportunity, when he was at the Louvre, and when I thought he had but little business upon his hands, to carry him these papers: but although it was very early in the morning when I left the arsenal, yet when I came to the Louvre I found that his majesty was already gone out; I therefore sent all my papers back to the arsenal, except a very short abstract, which I intended to shew him, and went to madame de Guise, to wait his return, she having often intreated me to dine with her.

It was to make a party for the chace, that Henry had risen so early that morning, and he was resolved to dine upon the partridges he should take in hawking:

ing : he used to say, that he never thought them so tender and good, as when they were taken in this manner ; and especially when he could snatch them himself from the hawks. Towards the middle of the day Henry returned, extremely well satisfied with his morning's diversion, and in a gaiety of humour, which his good state of health, and the happy situation of his affairs, contributed greatly to increase : he entered the great hall, holding his partridges in his hand, and cried aloud to Coquet (who waited there for his return, and was talking to Parfait at one end of the hall) " Coquet, " Coquet, you must not complain of Roquelaure, " Thermes, Frontenac, Arambure, and I, for want of " a dinner, for we have brought something to treat you " with ; but go immediately and order them to be " dressed ; give them their share, but let eight be reserved for my wife and I ; Bonneval here shall carry " them to her from me, and shall tell her, that I am " going to drink her health ; but take care and keep " those birds that are least bit by the hawks for me ; " there are three very fat, which I took from them " myself, and which they have scarce touched."

As Henry was distributing his partridges, La-Clielle came in, and with him Parfait, bringing in a large bason, gilt with gold, and covered with a napkin : " Sire, " cried he twice, embrace my knees, for I have brought " you a great many, and very fine ones." " See how " rejoiced Parfait is, said the king, this will make " him fatter by an inch upon the ribs ; I find he has " brought me some good melons ; I am glad of it, for " I am resolved to eat my fill of them to-day ; they " never hurt me when they are good, and when I " eat them while I am very hungry, and before meat, " as the physicians direct. I will give each of you " a melon before you have your partridges, when " I have first chosen out some for my wife and " myself, and for another person to whom I have " promised

“promised some.” The king then going to his own apartment, gave a couple of melons to two boys who were at the door, whispering something in their ear at the same time : and as he came out of his long closet to go to his aviary, perceiving Fourcy, Beringhen, and La-Font, the latter bringing something covered up in his hand, “La-Font, said Henry to him, are you bringing me a ragout for my dinner?” “Yes, sire, replied Beringhen, but these are raw meats, fit only to feast the eyes with.” “That is not what I want, replied his majesty, for I am excessively hungry, and would rather have my dinner than any other thing : but, La-Font, what is it you have wrapped up so?” “Sire, said Fourcy, he has got patterns of several sorts of stuffs, carpets, and tapestry, which your best manufacturers have undertaken to make.” “Oh ! replied Henry, they will afford us some amusement after dinner ; I will shew them to my wife, and to another person, whose opinion and mine do not always agree, especially when we are talking of what he calls baubles and trifles : I believe, Fourcy, added he, you guess whom I mean ; I should be glad to have him present with my wife when you shew us these stuffs, it will bring something to my remembrance which I want to communicate to them when they are together, that I may have their opinions ; he often tells me,” pursued his majesty, still speaking of me, but without naming me, “that he never thinks any thing fine or good, that costs double its real value ; and that I should be of the same opinion with regard to all goods extremely dear : I know what he hints at, and why he talks in this manner, although I pretend to be ignorant ; but we must suffer him to talk, for he is not a man of few words. Fourcy, go for him immediately ; or that he may be here the sooner, send one of my coaches for him, or your own.”

THE

THE coachman meeting with one of my footmen, whom I had sent to the Louvre to enquire if his majesty was returned, he came to the dutchess of Guise's, where I had just dined : I surpris'd his majesty when I came in, for he did not expect to see me so soon. " You have made great haste," said this prince to me when I entered the room, where he was still at table, " you could not possibly have come directly from the arsenal." When I told him where I had dined ; " That whole family being related to you, said he, " and loving you so much as they do, for which I am very glad, I am persuaded that while they follow your counsels, as they say they are determined to do, they will never do any injury either to my person or state." " Sire, returned I, your majesty says this in a manner so unreserved, that I see you are in a good humour, and better satisfied with me than you have been these fifteen days." " What ! you still remember then, interrupted Henry, I assure you I do not ; you know that our little resentments ought never to last more than a day : I am very sure that yours would not hinder you from undertaking, the very next day, to do something for my advantage in my finances. I have not," continued Henry, with great gaiety, " found myself so light and so easy these three months as this day ; I mounted my horse without help ; I have had great pleasure in the chase this morning ; my hawks have flown, and my greyhounds have run so well, that the former have taken a great number of young partridges, and the latter three large hares ; one of the best of my hawks, which I thought lost, has been found and brought back to me : I have a very good appetite, have eat some excellent melons, and they have served me up some quails, the fattest and tenderest I have ever eat. " By letters from Provence," continued the king, to shew me that every thing conspired to his happiness, " I am

“ I am informed, that the seditions in Marseilles are
 “ entirely quelled; and from several other provinces
 “ I have news, that there never has been so fruitful
 “ a season, and that my people will grow rich, if I
 “ permit them to export corn. Saint Antoine writes
 “ me word, that the prince of Wales is always talk-
 “ ing of me, and of the friendship which he promised
 “ you he would ever preserve for me. From Italy I
 “ am informed, that affairs there are in such a situa-
 “ tion, that I shall have the honour of reconciling the
 “ pope and the Venetians. Bongars writes me word
 “ from Germany, that the new king of Sweden is
 “ upon better terms with his subjects; and that the
 “ landgrave of Hesse acquires every day new friends
 “ and allies. Buzenval has written to Villeroi, that
 “ both the Spaniards and Flemings are brought so low,
 “ that they will soon be obliged to listen to proposals
 “ for a peace, or a truce, of which I must necessarily
 “ be the mediator and protector: and thus begin to
 “ render myself the arbitrator of all the differences
 “ among the princes of Christendom. And for an in-
 “ crease of satisfaction, said this prince gaily, behold
 “ me here at table, surrounded with all these persons
 “ you see,” (for he had with him Du-Laurens, Du-
 Perron the younger, Gutron, Des-Yvetaux, Chau-
 mont, and the fathers Cotton and Gonthier) “ of
 “ whose affection for me I am well assured, and who,
 “ as you know, are capable of entertaining me with
 “ useful as well as agreeable conversation; which shall
 “ not, however, hinder me from talking of business as
 “ soon as I have dined, for then I will listen to every
 “ body, and will satisfy all, if reason and justice can
 “ do it.”

I FOUND, by some other things his majesty said,
 that the company had turned the conversation upon
 him in particular, and had alike praised him for his
 great qualities, and congratulated him upon his good
 fortune. “ It will be difficult, I said, to find better
 “ judges

“judges than they were.” “However, said Henry, I did not suffer all they said to pass without contradiction.” And he confessed, that all their praises of him could not destroy his consciousness that he had many faults; and as to their compliments upon his good fortune, he told them, that if they had been with him from the time his father died, they would have been sensible that part of those compliments might have been spared, for that his miserable moments had far surpassed his happy ones. This led Henry to a reflection he used often to make, that he had not yet suffered so much by his declared enemies, as by the ingratitude and desertion of many, who, he said, were either his friends, allies, or subjects. The young Duperron, who in these last words found ample matter for his eloquence to display itself, began to treat this subject like a theologian or preacher, and even a mystic; “You have delivered your sentiments,” said I when he concluded, “in so lofty a style, that nothing can be added to your discourse.” I then maintained to him, as well as to all the company, agreeable to what his majesty had just said, or rather to what I had myself been a witness of, that this prince had enjoyed less tranquillity during the peace, than he did in all the troubles and alarms of war. “Rosny,” said the king to me, “if you will put a few words upon this subject on paper, I will shew it to some incredulous persons.” I replied, that it required some time to do that, and likewise might not be received favourably by every one. To this I added some other plain truths upon religion and policy; and the misery with which France was threatened if she should lose her king: which I believe was still less pleasing to the courtiers than what I had said before.

THIS conversation, which, from being gay and lively, had taken a very serious turn, was interrupted by the queen, who had left her chamber, and was going to her

her closet. The king, rising from table, went to meet her, saying, " Well, my dear, were not the melons, partridges, and quails I sent you very good ? if your appetite has been as keen as mine, you have dined extremely well ; I never eat so much as I have done to-day, or was ever in a better humour : ask Rosny, he will tell you the occasion of it, and will acquaint you with the news I have received, and the conversation we have had." The queen, who was likewise more than usually chearful, replied, that to contribute, on her side, to divert his majesty, she had been making preparations for a ballet and an interlude of her own invention ; the ballet was to represent the felicity of the golden age ; and the interlude, the amusements of the four seasons of the year. " I do not say," added she, " that I have not had a little assistance, for Duret and La Clavelle have been with me the whole morning, while you were at the chace." " How charmed am I to see you in this humour, my dear," said Henry to her ; " I beseech you let us always live together in this manner." Fourcy was then ordered to shew the patterns for the stuffs and tapestry. The king desired the queen to tell him her opinion of them ; and turning to me, " I know what yours is already," said he ; " but now let us see your abstracts of accounts ?"

Of these there were three, the same number with the general accounts : this is a simple sketch of this undertaking ; in the first, which regarded the superintendancy of the buildings and fortifications, the king found what was contained in the general account ; 1st, a memorial of all the fortifications made in the frontiers since the direction was in my hands ; 2d, of all the buildings and royal houses ; 3d, of all the moveables, hangings, gold and silver plate, which I had collected for him. The second compendium, which related to the finances, was an index to the memoirs ;

1st,

1st, of the changes and improvements which I had made in all the different parts of the king's finances and revenues ; 2d, of all the gold and silver money actually in the treasury ; 3d, of the improvements which I had still to make, and of the sums which I hoped to add to the former. The third compendium, which related to the office of the grand master, shewed the particulars of the general account ; 1st, of pieces of six different bores, repositied in my arsenal ; and of all that related to the cannons ; 2d, of the number of bullets, with the means of keeping all the train of artillery, and employing them in good order ; 3d, of the quantity of three sorts of gunpowder commonly used ; 4th, of the quantity of arms, tools, and instruments of the train of artillery ; 5th, of the number of soldiers, as well gentlemen as volunteers, whom the king could set on foot, reckoned according to the division of the kingdom.

THAT the reader may the better understand what has been said a little higher, with respect to Spain and the United Provinces, it is necessary to see what passed this year in Flanders*. The Spaniards, to whom the army destined for the expedition of Sedan had given great umbrage, finding that they had nothing to apprehend from that quarter, the marquis Spinola set out from Genoa on the 6th of May, that he might arrive in Flanders on the 19th. The siege of Rhinberg, which the Spaniards undertook this year, was the only considerable action performed this campaign : at first the besieged defended themselves with their usual vigour, and made several sallies, by which two Spanish colonels lost their lives ; the name of one of them was Thores, and the other commanded the new *terse* †, which

* Consult De Thou, the Merc. Franc. anno 1606. and Siri, *ibid.* on this subject.

† The word *terse*, which is made use of in two or three places of Sully's Memoirs, signifies a battalion, or several companies of foot, forming one corps.

which came from Savoy. This bold defence made the event of the siege appear very doubtful, at best it was thought that it would be protracted a long time; Spinola was of this opinion, and the king supposed that Rhinberg would not surrender before the 20th of October: however, they capitulated the beginning of this month. If the courier was to be credited, who, the next day after the reduction of this city, was sent by Spinola to carry the news to Madrid, and who passed through Paris in his way, the besieged had not more than six tons of powder left; but, it must be confessed, that the Dutch did not, upon this occasion, exert the valour they had done in the preceding years; they were then indeed dispirited and weary of the war. The garrison, which was left by the senate to its own conduct, were satisfied with obtaining, that they should be permitted to march out with all marks of honour, such as carrying away their cannon, &c. They threw all the blame of their surrender upon the prince of Orange, who they said would neither succour the place, nor give any disturbance to the Spanish army. This reproach was not wholly without cause; prince Maurice's reputation suffered greatly from the inaction he lived in during this siege and the whole campaign.

INDEED the conduct of the United Provinces cannot be wondered at, if we consider that they were reduced to such extremities, that it was not possible for them to carry on the war much longer. All the letters from Buzenval and Berny * confirmed this truth; and public report did not exaggerate things in this respect. It was no less certain, that Spain was no longer in a condition to take advantage of their weakness. The sieges of Ostend and Sluys had opened two wounds, which they had never been able to close. In Flanders a peace was publicly talked of; and those who till then had shewn themselves most against it, were, to their own astonishment, insensibly brought to approve of it. They now left

* Brulard, lord of Berny.

left off soliciting with ardour the assistance of France ; or to have that reliance upon our promises as they had formerly. I am persuaded, that the still recent remembrance of all the obligations they lay under to his majesty, was one of the chief causes of a delay of a peace or a truce, which, but for that consideration, would have been concluded this year. A misunderstanding between the prince of Orange and Barnevelt, which divided the council of the states into two parties, contributed also to this delay ; the former would not hear of a peace, and the latter cried out against a war. This opposition was the cause likewise that the council of France could take no resolutions with respect to the affairs of Flanders, since it was not possible to serve one party without injuring the other.

BUZENVAL returned to Paris the beginning of December, charged with a great number of proposals. His majesty not well knowing what to resolve upon, sent him to the arsenal, where I was confined to my chamber, to confer with me upon them. I confess I was no less perplexed than the king : I saw plainly that, if there was any resolution to be taken, with respect to the peace between Spain and the United Provinces, this was the time for it : but in what manner should we act, or how second the designs of a people without strength, without union amongst themselves, and so destitute of advice, that, as it was plain, not being able to agree upon the choice of the deputies to be sent to his majesty, our own agent to them was obliged to take this commission upon himself : shall we prevail upon these provinces to submit to the French domination, and so make their quarrel our own ? But is not this to engage rashly in a war with the whole house of Austria, the event of which would be so much the more doubtful, as the countries necessary to be possessed were at the greater distance from our own ; as we had yet no preparations made for entering the territories of our enemies, or vessels to invade them by sea,

sea, but those belonging to the States: shall we be contented with receiving a certain number of towns, either as a security, or in perpetual possession, to indemnify us for what money and stores we had advanced, as Buzenval offered in their name? This proposal has all the inconveniencies of the first, without any of its advantages; we should besides have numerous garrisons to maintain, because these towns would be doubtless upon the frontiers, where the Flemings would behold us with almost as bad an eye as the Spaniards themselves, of which we have a very recent example, in their behaviour to the English in the like circumstance. In whatever manner we disguise any resolution which necessarily leads to a war with Spain, it will as infallibly bring England upon us, as soon as we seem desirous of getting a footing, and making an establishment in the Low Countries: but that we might have nothing to fear either from the one or the other, it was necessary that our first attempt should be to make ourselves, by one stroke, masters of the sea against the Spaniards, and in a case of absolute necessity, against the English likewise. I believe I could then have engaged my head, that, having nothing more to attack or defend but on that side of the Meuse, Spain would have entirely lost the Low Countries. But what great expences, and what prodigious efforts must necessarily be made, ere this could be accomplished? I am still persuaded that we might, without giving umbrage to our neighbours, and without suffering any greater inconvenience from Spain, than complaints and murmurs, have still continued secretly to favour the States, as we did at present: but besides that the sums we advanced for them, must be increased in proportion as their power and strength diminished, all the advantage we could hope for from it, would be merely to retard the peace for some years. In the present state of things, there was no other alternative, but an accommodation between
Spain

Spain and the United Provinces, or a war between us and Spain: with respect to this accommodation, there were still two parts for us to take, either to suffer it to be made without our interposition, or to appear to be the mediators of it; the second was the most reasonable, and this was in the end embraced: but at the time of which I am speaking, the king was very far from approving this stroke of policy: and, in one sense, it was that which met with most opposition.

THESE were almost all the reflections I made to the king, who desired to know my opinion of Buzenval's deputation. I put them in writing, because I was not able to wait upon his majesty: it was not my fault, if this paper was not entirely satisfactory. We left it to time to bring matters to a conclusion, but they continued in the same doubtful state till the following year. The United Provinces made some small presents by Aërsens to the king and queen, for which his majesty sent them his thanks, and made a present, by the queen, to Aërsens' wife, of four hundred crowns in jewels. Aërsens, by his masters' orders, presented the king with a relation of a voyage which the Dutch had lately made to the East-Indies.

I HAVE nothing more to say of Germany than that the duke of Wirtemberg found the good effects of the king's protection: Montglat was his majesty's agent in that country; for as for Bongars, who was there also, and who had written a letter from Metz to me, which Henry read, because it was open, this prince would not permit him to stay in that city, nor in any other place, he said, where he might preach his doctrine.

ALL England was thrown into a consternation, by the discovery of a plot*, carried on by the jesuits
Garnet

* A detail of this conspiracy would lead us into a relation of too great length, and has but little connexion with these Memoirs. According

Garnet and Oldcorne, with several other Englishmen, against the king's person; the conspirators having resolved to blow up his majesty and the chief lords of the kingdom, when they were all assembled in the parliament-house, under which they had lodged barrels, and prepared trains of gunpowder.

According to De Thou and the Merc. Franc. it had its beginning in some of the latter years of queen Elizabeth's reign; see those historians, ann. 1605 and 1606. Ten or twelve English, and two Jesuits, Henry Garnet and Edward Oldcorne, lost their lives on that account: all the crime of the two last appears only to have been their knowing of the conspiracy and not discovering it. "The king, says L'Etoile, thought proper to say to "father Cotton, when he spoke to him of it, I will not believe this of "you Jesuits, or cast any reflection on your order in general; there is, "however, one person at Rome, with his holiness, who I know was not "unacquainted with this wicked plot and conspiracy." Anno 1605.

Father Oldcorne solemnly declared before his death (on the 17th of April, 1606) that he never knew or approved of this gunpowder plot. Mezerai says, that this father had maintained, that the attempt was good and commendable; but on what grounds he, who makes Hall and Oldcorne two different persons, though these are only two names of the same man, says this, I know not. Father Garnet was executed the third of May. The judges took great pains to prevail on him to own that he had come to the knowledge of it by other means than under the seal of confession, which they knew was inviolable amongst catholics. Father Garnet, according to the account of the catholics, had so little concern in this plot, of which Larrey makes him the author and chief promoter, that he made use of all possible means, even almost the discovery of it, to prevent it, incessantly exhorting the catholics to have patience. He had besides got father Parsons, and father Aquaviva, general of the Jesuits, to write, that the taking any violent resolution should, above all things be avoided, the consequences of which must inevitably be fatal to religion. *Memoirs for the general history of Europe*, vol. i. p. 74. Matthieu, in like manner, exculpates father Garnet, vol. II. b. iii. p. 715. See also the book composed by father Daniel Bartoli, an Italian Jesuit, intituled, *Dell' Istoria della Compagnia di Gesu d' Inghilterra*. This evidence is sufficient to confute those, who, like Bayle, (*Rep. des Lett.* March 1687.) have asserted, that, according to all historians, father Garnet and father Oldcorne were convicted of being parties in the plot. This father Parsons, or Robert Parsonio, was a Jesuit of great merit and knowledge.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.



